EXCHANGE RELATIONSHIPS IN A COMMUNITY ON THE NORTH COAST OF COLOMBIA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CANNABIS

By

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Many people have assisted me during my graduate career through their teaching, counseling, and research activities. Among these are members of my dissertation committee who have contributed to the research reported here. Professor Solon T. Kimball, committee chairman, provided through his classes, seminars, and conversations my training in the methodological and analytical techniques of the natural history tradition in social anthropology. My views on the nature of socialization and the replication of social structures were greatly influenced by Professors Kimball and G. Alexander Moore. My interests in ritual and symbolic behavior were stimulated and influenced by Professors William E. Carter, Richard H. Hiers, Solon Kimball, and Charles Wagley.

My interest in cannabis and social structure grew directly out of my Masters essay (Partridge 1973a) and the discovery that the scientific literature on the social implications of cannabis was deficient. Through my experiences during the summer of 1971 in Bogotá, Cali, and Popayán, Colombia, interviewing professionals regarding cannabis use, I became interested in the north coast of Colombia as a research setting.

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and Miss Eleanor Carroll for their encouragement.

Shortly after arriving in Colombia, with the assistance of letters of introduction from William E. Carter, I met several Colombian anthropologists who assisted me throughout my stay in Colombia. I was granted sponsorship for my research in Colombia by the Instituto Colombiana de Antropologia in Bogotá. In Barranquilla I was generously given office space at the Museo de Antropologia of the Universidad del Atlantico. The Colombian anthropologists who assisted me devoted considerable time to acquainting me with the culture in which I planned to work, the geography and history of the north coast of Colombia, and the range of human populations which give the north coast its exciting variety. The profound knowledge shared by these professionals was an invaluable aid in my adjustment to and eventual study of one particular community located in the region. The Colombian anthropologists who assisted me must be unnamed here due to the sensitive nature of the topic.

Both in Bogotá and in Barranquilla I was informed that the former banana zone of Colombia was an area of intensive cultivation and traditional consumption of cannabis. The community chosen for the research setting, called here Majagua, was selected for two compelling reasons: (1) particularly excellent personal contacts existed between

several Colombian anthropologists and several people living in the community who were willing to assist me; and (2) the entire cycle of activities relating to cannabis, cultivation, distribution, and consumption, could be studied in this single location. The proposal originally called for a community study of a population in which cannabis was consumed. The situation encountered in the banana zone of Colombia encouraged me to expand the focus of my investigation to the entire cycle of activities related to cannabis. The community was chosen only after several weeks of extensive study of the varieties of human settlements on the north coast.

Through the generous assistance of a Colombian newspaper reporter, who will remain anonymous, I came to know the town called here Majagua. Spending several weeks in the company of this quite skilled and engaging professional journalist I came to understand the broad outlines of community life, the neighborhoods of the town and countryside, the miles upon miles of dusty dirt roads running among the cattle and rice estates, the legends of the United Fruit Company days, the stores, bars, poolrooms, and brothels, the old families of the community, the cockfights and festival cycle, the church and government offices, the influential and the powerless, the landowners, the government employees, the shopkeepers, the beggars, the town

drunks, the peasants, and the contraband runners. My friend the journalist and I spent hours discussing these and many more elements of the tremendous range of human life to which I had been exposed. It was only many months later that I was able to abstract conclusions about the nature of this community, for through my experience with this journalist I was immersed immediately in the full round of local life. I was not permitted the luxury of interest in only one element of the community. Instead I was made aware of the complexity which is Majagua and its rich texture of human conditions, aspirations, and abilities.

The contacts mentioned above evolved into further introductions, hundreds of hours of conversations, and numerous interviews all of which led to other contacts and other arenas of community life. I carried a pocket notebook and pen and wrote notes when possible. At the end of a day the contents of the notebook were typed up and copies were sent to Professors Solon Kimball and William Carter. Each of these generously reviewed my hazy and incomplete summations of what I was observing and offered me the benefit of their own insights and experiences. Out of this dialogue, which continued throughout the period of study, I came to understand the range and depth of community life.

Since the work of Malinowski participant observation has been a proven method of field research in anthropology,

and my particular use of the techniques needs only brief explication here. Initially I purchased a horse and traveled throughout the community and to several neighboring communities, secured housing with a family, obtained a cook, laundress, and several guides. Friendships developed with many townspeople and countrymen as I went about learning to ride, to enjoy the local food and drink, and in the course of participating in the normal round of social life of the community. Out of such friendships I requested and was given personal interviews with those who could provide detailed information of special interest (e.g. the process of rice agriculture, subsistence horticulture, festivals and rituals). Participant observation continued throughout such situations since interviews were often conducted while other kinds of activity were in progress. Successive interviews and wide travel throughout the municipality enabled me to form certain conclusions and test them in a variety of settings and through numerous personnel.

After many interviews and several months in the community three sample settlement patterns were chosen for intensive study. These were a neighborhood of the town, a rural hamlet, and a highland peasant neighborhood. Demographic information such as age, sex, social status, education, occupation, household composition, etc. was collected in each sample. From these sample surveys evolved invitations to make other, less formal visits to certain households. Intensive observations proceeded throughout the remainder

of my stay in the community in these three samples.

The collection of data regarding cannabis was difficult from the beginning, for the topic was a sensitive one and few individuals in the community did not consider me an agent of the FBI or CIA. It was not until January of 1973 that I was able to obtain my first concrete information regarding cannabis. Since I chose not to join cannabis user groups in the community, my first contacts were with cannabis cultivators. These perceived me to be a wealthy buyer who intended to transport tons of cannabis to the United States. After repeated denials, lengthy interviews on other subjects, months of study of all varieties of community life, and continuous observation and travel throughout the municipality, I managed to convince several informants that I was indeed a scientist and not a cannabis buyer. One successful interview led to others and soon I developed good working relationships with commercial growers, petty growers, petty vendors, consumers, and petty cultivators. Once the identities of these individuals were known to me, and more importantly their roles in the life of the community and the full range of activities in which they engaged themselves, the patterns of the systems of social relationships governing cannabis became clear. Soon it became apparent that everyone in the town and municipality but the anthropologist had known all along who were the consumers, distributors, and cultivators of cannabis. Their initial efforts to hide such knowledge had been a

natural reaction to a foreigner poking his nose into local affairs. Once the ice was broken and my informants understood that I understood the local situation, then the data flowed quite easily, and most tension surrounding my inquiries was mitigated. Still, upon leaving the community in October of 1973 one of my best informants and friends, an extremely intelligent and able man, expressed his amazement at the fact that I had been able to keep secret from everyone how it was that I was going to make a profit through cannabis sales. He informed me that I must be extremely intelligent to have hidden so successfully my contracts with his fellows.

Upon nearing completion of my period of study, several weeks were devoted to research in the National Library in Bogotá where documentary evidence was obtained relating to certain historical and geographical conditions which obtain on the north coast of Colombia. Census materials were collected from the offices of the Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística in Bogotá and Barranquilla.

During the writing of the dissertation I have benefitted from the close cooperation of my committee, especially from repeated reviews of the manuscript and constructive suggestions offered by Dr. Kimball and Dr. Carter. Dr. Charles Wagley brought to my attention several theoretical issues in the area of economics and development in the Third World to which the data are relevant. While I have not adequately responded to all of the many suggestions and

insights offered by members of the committee, many of these have been incorporated in the pages that follow. The intellectual atmosphere generated through my interaction with members of the committee provided the challenges which led to the completion of the dissertation. Their thoughtful help is very much appreciated.

A great debt is owed to the people of the community in which I studied. I was graciously hosted by numerous families of the town and countryside who must remain unnamed here and in the text. Many informants devoted time they would normally have spent engaged in other activities in order to answer my questions and grant lengthy interviews. Names which occur in the text are fictitious. The notes written at the time of interviews with cannabis users, merchandisers, and growers were coded and edited in such a way as to make impossible the identification of informants. Only a single copy of each interview was made and these were kept locked in a trunk, so it is unlikely that the data gathered will serve any other purpose than that of scientific investigation.

The translations of Spanish documents which are quoted in the text are my own.

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Chairman: Solon T. Kimball
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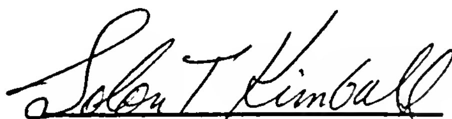
Social group structures and social relationships which power systems of production, distribution, and consumption in a community on the north coast of Colombia were studied between July of 1972 and October of 1973. The origins of the community are traced and certain subcultural social traditions are found to be adaptations to the ecological, historical, and geographical conditions of the north coast region. These subcultures are found to be interdependent through certain exchange relationships, yet also are found to have clearly identifiable and distinct structures, forms of productive activity, distributive systems, and systems of consumption. Social group structures and social relationships characteristic of each subculture are examined with special reference to systems of cultivation, distribution and consumption of cannabis. Two systems of cultivation

and two systems of distribution are described which correspond to the distinctive subcultural traditions present in the community. Cannabis consumption is found to be characteristic of only one of these subcultures. The analysis of cannabis consumption is focused upon the profane sphere of everyday work habits, secular patterns of interaction, and life cycles typical of the coastal subculture. A controlled comparison is made between the coastal and the highland subcultures and cannabis is found to be instrumentally and expressively related to certain social groupings and social relationships present only in the coastal subcultural tradition. It is concluded that cannabis is one of several items of reciprocal exchange which functions to symbolize interdependency relationships among laborers, peasants, and artisans of the coastal subculture. In contrast, cannabis consumption does not diffuse to the highland subculture where different kinds of social group structures and social relationships are found. It is suggested that cannabis diffuses only to those social groups structurally predisposed to accept and value the ritual which surrounds it.



Chairman

INTRODUCTION

The research reported here concerns cannabis and human social groupings. It is not concerned with cannabis *qua* cannabis, but with the locus of cannabis in society. As Hollister (1971:28) points out, increasing numbers of researchers have turned to questions involving cannabis but this has increased our understanding of the social implications of cannabis very little. The reason is that scientists continue to focus upon the psychological and physiological effects of the drug and to ignore the social dimensions. The observations of Wallace (1959), Becker (1963), and others that the significance of the drug varies with cultural and social contexts have in general stimulated only lip service from scientists interested in cannabis.

With some exceptions (Comitas 1973) the locus of cannabis in the natural human grouping is neglected in favor of soporific concepts such as "the lower class" or the "culture" of a people (Khalifa 1973, Li 1973). My intent in the pages that follow is to bring a measure of conceptual rigor to the area of cannabis and social relationships. This objective is achieved through the use of the methodology of community studies in the natural history tradition of social anthropology.

The central concern of the method is with the observation *in vivo* of the varieties of social and cultural elements in the context of ongoing human activity. The

central problem facing the observer is the reduction of the multiplicity of social facts into a system of priorities of relevance. These priorities are established by examining relationships which obtain between social units who live out their developmental cycles at particular times and in particular places in customary fashion. The concern of the method, most simply put, is with the regular and recurrent structures of human organization. For the community is the minimal unit of cultural transmission, and it is the transmission of organizational structures which in turn provides for successive transmissions and the persistence of the culture.

Community consists in systems comprising interaction regularities and cultural behavior in an environmental context (Arensberg and Kimball 1965:4). The definition is minimal for it generalizes several points of technical refinement that will be developed below.

The emphasis upon interactional regularity calls attention to the biological basis of human organization. The law of incest prohibition requiring exogamous groupings of persons interacting in some predictable manner is the key and primal survival technique of the species. The implications of prolonged infancy and late puberty compel us to view society not as based upon the family unit but as consisting in organizational structures which relate several family units. Three generations and two sexes, then, are fundamental elements of community.

The emphasis upon cultural behavior stems directly from the above. Organizational structures vary and stem from learning experiences of preceding generations. Patterns of mate choice, settlement, subsistence, consumption, belief, and the like result from the canalization of choices made by individuals.

The emphasis upon environmental context adds to the definition the importance of territory and the functional interdependencies which exist among men and among social groups by virtue of their shared relationship to a natural world. Community is a storehouse of adaptive responses to specific conditions of the natural world, responses which have temporal and spatial aspects. Community is therefore the succession of lives through time and over space.

Community provides patterned social relationships which constitute "conditioning influences from the organization of one's fellows about the individual" (Arensberg and Kimball 1965:45), and canalize choice. The cultivation, distribution, and consumption of cannabis is understood only in relation to the structure of social relationships which canalize choice for members of the community. In the chapters that follow cannabis will be seen to be intimately related to certain social relationships characteristic of certain group structures.

CHAPTER I

CANNABIS AND SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

The Problem

It has been known for some time that cannabis is one of the most widely used and most ancient hallucinogenic plants consumed by man (Subcommittee on Alcoholism and Narcotics 1971:52-53). (There is some debate over whether cannabis is indeed an hallucinogen but for now we will accept Schultes 1969 classification which considers the plant hallucinogenic.) Considerable scientific data has accumulated since the Indian Hemp Drugs Commission Report of 1896, but the report's essential finding that cannabis is of little danger to the individual consumer or his society remains unchanged to the present time. As Snyder (1971:16-17) points out, a comparison of the lethal and effective doses of two commonly used drugs mass produced and marketed in the United States and many other countries, secobarbital (Seconal) and alcohol, with the lethal and effective doses of cannabis is revealing. This ratio, the so-called "safety factor" of any drug, is about 10 for both secobarbital and alcohol and about 40,000 for tetrahydrocannabinol (THC) or the chemically active intoxicant contained in cannabis. While a lethal dose of secobarbital or alcohol can be produced with 10 times the effective dose, a lethal dose of cannabis is quite literally beyond the

range of human experience or imagination.

It would seem, then, that the current controversy surrounding cannabis is not related to lethal dangers to an individual resulting from use of the drug. Perfectly lethal drugs are consumed daily by people who are frightened of the effects of the relatively harmless cannabis.

The controversy centers instead upon the real, perceived or suspected effects of cannabis for the society in which it is used. The sociologist Eric Goode (1969) has argued that scientific data regarding cannabis in society are irrelevant since the controversy is largely a political and ideological one. But science is often used to alter political and ideological persuasions. Howard Becker (1963) demonstrated some time ago that official and popular attitudes toward cannabis were changed quite readily by a massive campaign waged against the drug by the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs of the United States Government. The campaign was based on evidence which was presented to the Congress and public wearing the mantle of "science." For scientists to fail to recognize their roles in the maintenance of official and popular mythology is not only irresponsible but an admission that scientists fail to perceive the manner in which their society functions. The generation of official and popular mythology is a *de facto* condition of modern science.

Since the cannabis controversy centers upon the effects of cannabis for society the work of sociologists, social

psychologists, and anthropologists is particularly relevant. Anthropologists have had wide experience in the study of many cultures where different hallucinogenic plants are consumed. But much of this investigation is not directly useful in addressing the problem of the effects of such substances on society.

Hallucinogens have played and continue to play major roles in religious ritual in all parts of the world. They form integral parts of curing, divining, and votive activities from central Siberia to northern India to the coast of China, from southern Europe to the Turkish plains, from the Arctic to the tip of South America, from the Mediterranean Sea to Cape Horn, from Newfoundland to Vancouver Island to the mountains of Oaxaca. In some cases the plant itself is perceived to be a diety: the Soma of the ancient Aryans or _Amanita muscaria_, the fly agaric mushroom (Wasson 1968, 1972); the peyote cactus of the Huichol Indians or _Lophophora Williamsii_ (La Barre 1938, Aberle 1966, Furst 1972, Meyerhoff, 1972, 1973). In other cases the plant is an instrument of ritualized communication with dieties: the _eboka_ of the Bwiti cults among the Fang people or _Tabernanthe iboga_ (Fernandez 1972); the _yajé_ of the Tukano Indians of Colombia or _Banisteriopsis caapi_ (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1968, 1972); and the deadly nightshade or _Atropa belladonna_, Mandrake or _Mandrabora_, Henbane of _Hyoscyamus_, and thorn apple or _Datura_ of the witches of medieval Europe (Harner 1973). In still other cases the hallucinogen takes

on curative powers and serves the related purposes of diagnosis and treatment: the black tobacco of the Warao of Venezuela (Wilbert 1972, 1973) and the Tenetehara of Brazil (Wagley and Galvao 1949) or Nicotiana spp.; the morning-glory seeds of the Zapotec, Mixtec, Chinanatecs, and Masatecs of the Oaxaca valley of Mexico or Rivea corymbosa (Schultes 1972, 1969); and the San Pedro cactus or Trichocereus pachanoi among the mestizo farmers of the coast of Peru (Sharon 1972). This list could continue until some 80 hallucinogenic plants of the New World and some six of the Old World were included (La Barre 1972:271).

Yet as Furst (1972:xi) observes, "what is new is not the discovery of natural substances that act powerfully on the mind, but their fascination for Western man and the medical, legal, and social consequences." This fascination and its consequences are indeed new to the West since hallucinogenic plants have not traditionally been used in either religious curing, divining, or votive activities since paleolithic times. Exceptions exist to be sure (Harner 1973). But in general altered states of consciousness in the West are achieved without the aid of hallucinogens.

One is reminded of the shamanistic trance states of Moses, Aaron, Ezekiel, Samuel, Peter, Paul and others of the Hebrew tribes; likewise, the astonishing visions of the initiates into the Eleusis cults of Greece were probably unaided by hallucinogens. The raptures suffered by St. Bernard and later St. Francis and others of the Mendicant

Orders of the 12th and 13th centuries are traditionally interpreted as communication with a diety. The hallucinations and voices experienced by Joan of Arc, the 14th century "Saint Vitus Dance" mania and its accompanying visions, and the mystical savagery of the Flagellants of the Middle Ages of Europe and in some parts of Latin America and Europe today were not induced by hallucinogenic substances. The prophetic trances and miracles proclaimed by George Fox and others of the Quakers in the 17th century, the violent convulsions and trance performances of the "French prophets" of 18th century England, and the hysterical fits and spirit-possessions which afflicted those who heard Wesley preach in England at the same time were similarly unaided by hallucinogens. Similarly, the gift of "tongues" which characterized the Shakers of New York, the frenzied spasms called the "barks," the "jerks," and the "rolls" which marked the Kentucky revival of 1800, the millenial dreams of the Adventists of New England in 1843, the Beekmanites of Illinois in 1875, the Wilderness Worshipers of Georgia and South Carolina in 1889 and 1890, and the hysterical praying of our contemporary pentecostal sects of the Southern United States, Southern California, New York and the Midwest are each altered states of consciousness achieved without the use of hallucinogenic plants. Mooney (1896) called attention to many of these Western parallels to the trances of the Ghost Dance Religion in his classic monograph.

Clearly what is new to Western man is not the ritualized, sacred, or divine state of consciousness. Westerners have witnessed continuing streams of possession, quaking, jerking, dreaming, and all manner of related trance states for over two millenia. Moreover, many of these have been incorporated into Western religious tradition. Westerners seek out and discover such altered states of consciousness.

That which is sacred has easily been explained in terms of belief systems, cognitive mappings, and culturally patterned perception. But here anthropologists usually have stopped, recognizing along with Fernandez (1972:237-238) that reality is a construct which is consensual and not virtual. Few anthropologists have considered the altered states of consciousness or hallucinogenic substances that seem to produce them in the context of what Durkheim (1947: 38-42) called the profane or secular institutions of society.

Freud and his followers were fascinated with one such profane altered state of consciousness which is universal to the species: the dream. Recent research has resulted in the exciting discovery of the "rapid eye movement" dream state in which the subject is insensitive to external stimulation and in a state of inward concentration, yet not in a state of normal unconsciousness. This is a purely biological phenomenon with important implications for theories of schizophrenia, sensory deprivation, and the nature of perception. Furthermore, it introduces the possibility that the distinction between the sacred and the profane is

really the difference between sensory deprivation and sensory experience, and as such is a panhuman phenomenon that may lead us to postulate a panhuman subconsciousness (La Barre 1972:263).

But that intuitive leap cannot be made just yet. For the sacred experience, whether this be rooted in sensory deprivation or not, is universally structured by a cultural tradition and a defined social grouping. Since Emile Durkheim (1947), George Herbert Mead (1913, 1962) and the more recent simplifications of Erving Goffman (1961, 1967, 1969), we can hardly accept the idea that the sacred or the profane states are either noncommunicable nor unlearned. That is, even though the biologically determined state of subjectivity (e.g., the REM state) is universal to all individuals, the activity which occurs during that state is quite specific to the canalization of one's expectations and behaviors. Such states may be natural to all individuals, but they are never individual experiences.

The Tukano Indian, for example, perceives his hallucinogenic experiences to be the products of his ingestion of _Banisteriopsis caapi_, hence, in his symbol system, intense, subjective, and personal contact with the dieties. But his activities are in fact quite stereotypic, common to all his fellows, and not shared with other cultures. So stereotypic are these that the vivid hallucinatory phenomena which he sees conform readily in terms of color, form, structure, and meaning to ancient petroglyphs chiseled on the river

rocks, to house and ceramic paintings, to traditional designs painted on barkcloth, and to the hallucinations of his fellows. Similarly, the Warao Indian who smokes the leaves of Nicotiana is indeed induced into a trance state, but he has previously learned the stereotypic journey he will make, the events which will occur along the way, the tests and pitfalls he must overcome, and the myth of origin which provides the meanings for such events from his shaman-initiator. This journey and its events he reports faithfully after his long period of fasting (almost to the point of death) and after the ingestion of huge amounts of Nicotiana. The outsider or anthropologist who ingests such substances generally perceives their effects to be only nausea, excitation or anxiety, and extreme diarrhea (Schultes 1960:70, Reichel-Dolmatoff 1972:89-90, Fernandez 1972:238).

Anthropologists have demonstrated convincingly that altered states of consciousness are structured by learned ritual and myth in the sacred realm. The use of hallucinogens is controlled and restricted to certain individuals, certain periods of the life cycle, and certain institutionalized situations or contexts. Hallucinogens qua hallucinogens do not produce undesirable states of consciousness which disrupt normal social life, but in fact contribute to the continued functioning of sacred symbol systems. But what of the profane? Anthropologists have not generally investigated either the role of altered states of consciousness or the manner in which these are structured in the realm

of the profane.

Durkheim (1947:38-42) conceived of the difference between the sacred and profane to consist in ritualized "interdictions" which protect and isolate the sacred from the profane. Certain beliefs which designate certain elements as sacred are expressed in ritual behavior which has as its context a certain social grouping. The belief, the ritual behavior, and the social group constitute the sacred. All else is profane. But as Warner (1962:5-34) demonstrated, sacred functions are not limited to the purely religious institutions. A political event such as Memorial Day in the United States is also a sacred event. It involves a sacred symbol system, ritual behaviors, and certain social groupings which can together be interpreted as a "cult of the dead" of the nation-state. Therefore, anthropologists speak of sacred and profane functions of belief systems, rituals, and social groupings. These may occur in the political, religious, economic, or familial institutions of a society.

My interest is in the nature of the altered state of consciousness produced by smoking of the plant materials of cannabis in the secular realm of human activity. For the cannabis controversy centers upon the use of cannabis in the secular sphere of social life. Yet the functions of cannabis and the ways in which it is structured in profane life will not be discovered by investigating merely the customs surrounding the use of cannabis. After ini-

tiating field work in the community described below, I soon learned that cannabis was part of, and a minor part at that, larger and more complex systems of human relationships. In attempting to understand cannabis I found myself studying social group composition, economic dynamics, activities, and beliefs, and exchange relationships which knit individuals into groups and groups into social structures. Only when the structure of social life in all its complexity was understood could the role and function of cannabis be studied.

In order to examine cannabis in the profane realm, therefore, the analysis is focused upon human relationships in a community where cannabis is used by certain groups, not used by certain other groups, and cultivated and sold by still other groups. Social relationships in these groups vary in relation to subcultural traditions which are the products of adaptations to ecological, geographical, and historical conditions of the region in which the community is located. These origins of these social relationships, the ways in which they are interrelated through systems of exchange, and their functioning in the full round of local life and the yearly cycle are the subjects discussed here.

Levi-Strauss has said:

> . . . as soon as the various aspects of social life—economic, linguistic, etc.—are expressed as relationships, anthropology will become a general theory of relationships. Then it will be possible to analyze societies in terms of differential features characteristic of the systems of relationships which define them (1967:95-96).

Such systems of relationships can be studied most readily in minimal social units. As Levi-Strauss (1960, 1969) argues, we can no longer view the family units as minimal, but rather the minimal unit of society is composed of relationships which obtain among families. Arensberg and Kimball (1965:4) and Wagley (1968:127) have likewise argued that the community is the minimal unit of cultural transmission, for it is in community that the structure of interindividual relationships characteristic of a society is to be found.

Barth has added:

> What we observe is not "customs," but "cases" of human behavior. . . . Our central problem becomes what are the constraints and incentives that canalize choice (1966:1).

Phrased another way, the anthropologist must answer the question: "What is the net of conditioning influences from the organization of one's fellows about the individual?" (Arensberg and Kimball 1965:45). The answer to this question regarding cannabis is the problem addressed in the following chapters. The constraints and incentives surrounding cannabis, the net of conditioning influences resulting from social organization, is the proper focus for anthropological investigation.

Perhaps when such data are collected and analyzed in similar fashion by more anthropologists the "marihuana controversy" in the United States can be seen for what it probably is: a clear example of a scapegoat phenomenon which serves the purpose of obscuring the fundamental social

problems of which marihuana use or any other kind of behavior is a mere expression.

The Setting

The community chosen for investigation of the problem is located at the base of the western slopes of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta in the department of Magdalena, Colombia. In the tradition of natural history (Arensberg and Kimball 1965:8-12) this community is viewed as a sample or field in which to examine empirically the relationship between cannabis and human social behavior. The form of settlement, the distribution of people through space, the major features of town and countryside, the use of land and other factors discussed below are each broad expressions of the kind of community chosen. It is a community which is representative of other communities by virtue of these shared features and can therefore be considered a sample.

The setting is the former banana zone of Colombia located to the south of the city of Santa Marta. While Santa Marta is Colombia's oldest colonial settlement, the hinterlands south and west of the city were sparsely populated until the present century. The United Fruit Company operations in this region sparked the migration of numerous Colombians and foreign nationals into the zone. Hamlets of only a score of families were transformed into bustling centers of primary production and commerce. The town chosen as the base of operations is one of these, a town that is located close to Macondo of the internationally famous

novel by Gabriel García Márquez (1970).[1]

Majagua is located about 90 kilometers south of Santa Marta, the capital city of Magdalena. Majagua first appears in the historical record between 1874 and 1886 when the English geographer F. A. Simonds explored the region and listed it together with several other hamlets (Vergara y Velasca 1901:82-85). In 1885 the town was transfered into a new municipality in one of the numerous territorial divisions which marked the 19th century history of Magdalena (Alarcón 1963:374-375).

The municipio or county in which Majagua is located will be called here Orejones, a name given to the indigenous people of the area by the Spanish. The only information we have about these indigenous inhabitants is the fact that they wore large earrings "as big as plates" which were put on their children at an early age (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1951:99). The municipality of Orejones was not created until the 20th

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[1]García Márquez was born in the banana zone and writes about the people as an insider and participant in their culture. The town of Majagua is identical in most respects to Macondo as described by García Márquez, yet the perspective of the social scientist contrasts significantly with that of the native novelist. For García Márquez was born the son of a merchant family and his particular perspective on the historical events which form the structure of the novel is quite selective. One Hundred Years of Solitude traces the lives of the Buendía family in the fictitious town of Macondo from its founding through the United Fruit Company period, and into the period of decline which represents the contemporary state of the numerous banana towns of the zone. The conflict between the merchants of the banana zone and the United Fruit Company, discussed in Chapter II below, colors García Márquez's interpretation of events and process and makes his otherwise brilliant novel less useful in the present context.

century when the banana boom had begun. Majagua became the seat of the municipality of Orejones in 1915 (Rigoletto 1962). While the first church was built in 1910 the municipality was not designated a parish until 1928 (Angarita 1928). Changes in the census data over the past century reflect the fact that the town achieved a fairly stable population immediately after the banana boom and has grown very little since. In contrast, the rural areas of the municipality have grown steadily due to the processes of rural colonization of the foothills of the Sierra and the invasion of the large estates (see Figures 1 and 2).

Majagua was the second largest of the banana-railroad towns which made up the urban nodes of the zone. Each of these towns was built along the railroad which connected the United Fruit Company docks in Santa Marta and the town of Fundación at the southern limit of the banana zone. The paved highway which lies about one kilometer away from each of these towns was built during the mid-1960's. Formerly, there was only the railroad and a _camino de herradura_ or mule path connecting the series of towns and Santa Marta.

The municipality of Orejones contains a number of other settlements besides those studied. At its western end lie small fishing villages standing on stilts out of the water of the Ciénaga Grande or Great Swamp, and at its eastern end in the high reaches of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta live the _Ijca_, known locally as the Awawak Indians. Neither of these populations is part of the community studied in that contacts

Population

Year	Town of Majagua	Total municipality
1938	3,898	15,861*
1951	4,336	12,713
1964	5,304	22,202

FIGURE 1

Population Changes

Number of Buildings

Year	Town of Majagua	Total municipality
1938	630	1,411*
1951	764	1,392
1964	711	3,074

FIGURE 2 **

Population Changes

* These figures include the _corregimiento_ or satellite town of Fundación which in the census of this year was still part of the municipality of Orejones. By the next census period Fundación had become the seat of a separate municipality

** Source: Contraloría General de la República 1941, Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística 1959, 1970.

among them are rare and no interdependency exists among them (see Figure 3).

The total land area of the municipality is 2,263 square kilometers (Comisión de Planificación 1964:91). Of this total 1,077 are classified as tierra calida or hot lands at 0 to 1000 meters altitude. It is in this region that the bulk of the population lives, that part of the population identified later as the coastal subculture. About 309 square kilometers are classified as tierra media or warm lands at 1000 to 2000 meters altitude. It is in this region that the colonization efforts of the highland subculture of the community are taking place. Around 287 square kilometers are tierra fría or cold lands at 2000 to 3000 meters altitude. This is the region of the Ijca Indians, where they located their dispersed farms and the ceremonial center called Serancua after fleeing the missionaries who came to their original homelands at the turn of the century. The remaining 590 square kilometers are classified as páramo or lands of the high plateau just beneath the snow line and including a small area permanently covered with snow. In these reaches the Indians graze sheep, cattle, and goats.

The community studied is located, then, in the altitude range of from sea level to 2000 meters. Toward the lower altitudes the land is flat and devoted mainly to large estates and a few nodal population centers. The large estates dominate the landscape. Towards the upper reaches of the zone the land is devoted to the dispersed individual family farms of the

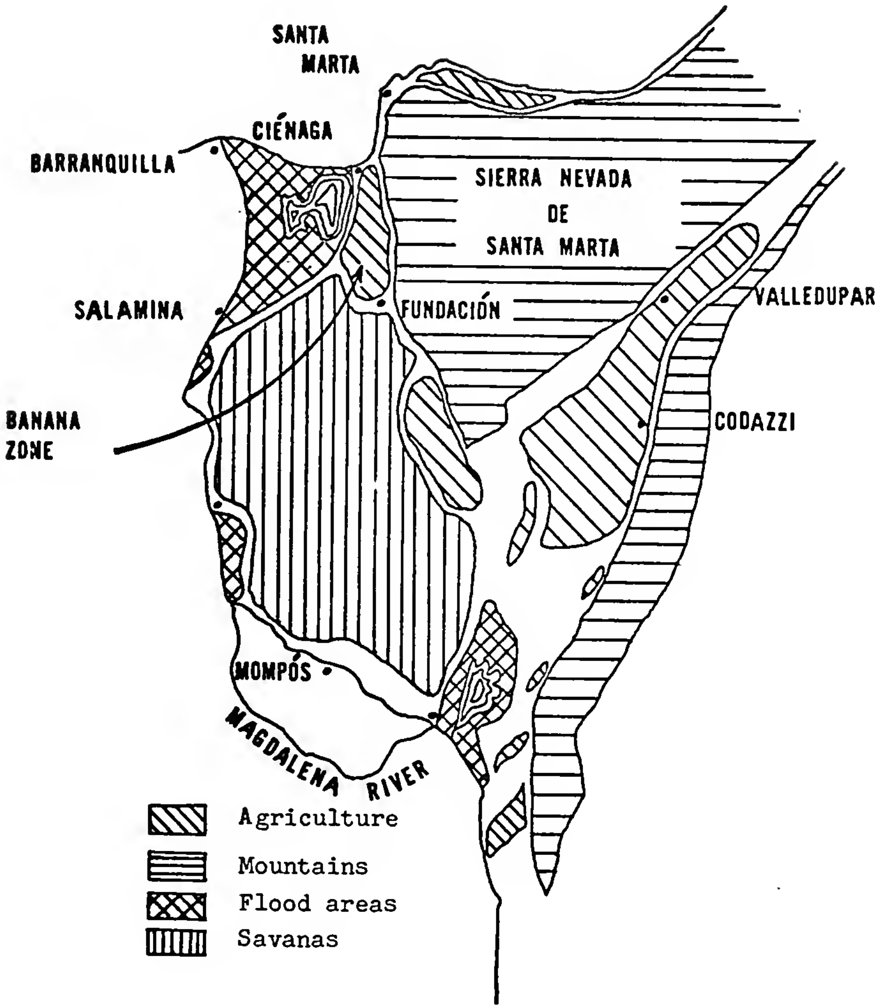

FIGURE 3

Map of the Magdalena Region

Source: Comisión de Planificación, 1964.

highland colonists. Both of these geographical and cultural areas are divided into units called veredas. These are rural neighborhoods which in the lowlands are named for older estates nearby or for administrative divisions made by the United Fruit Company. In the highlands veredas are named for certain physical features of the land such as a stream or a hill. The vereda is a natural unit of classification only in the highlands where it conforms to the contour of the land, such as the area between two roads or two streams. In the lowlands these units are useful only for census surveys and tax records, for they reflect neither the physical features of the land nor the human groupings which inhabit it.

The town of Majagua is the governmental, religious, political, and commercial center of life for many members of the community. But for some the cities of Barranquilla and Santa Marta are the important nodal centers which are the focus of their lives. The products of the estates as well as the owners of the estates and many workers invariably end up in the urban centers of the coast. Majagua is a nodal center for certain groups, but not for all.

In the town are found the following governmental facilities: a municipal "palace" in which are the mayor's office and the treasurer's office, a telephone and telegraph communication center, a jail and its accompanying police station and barracks, a market building, a town notary, an electric plant, a water system office, three elementary level schools, one high school level school, a cotton gin operated by the

Instituto de Mercadeo Agropecuario (IDEMA), several experimental farms of the Instituto Colombiano de Agricultura (ICA), a public clinic with 10 beds, a railroad station which has been closed for 15 years, a <u>personero</u> or municipal officer in charge of road maintenance, a municipal slaughter house, and a post office. Many of the government offices occupy buildings abandoned by the United Fruit Company (warehouses, clinics, commissaries, etc.) as do some residents of the town.

The town's notary is licensed by the departmental government. He is descended from one of the founding families of the town, as are most professionals and government personnel, worked for the United Fruit Company for 20 years, and today is a major and powerful figure in the community. He keeps all official records and thereby knows everything going on in the municipality. Everyone expects he will hold the post for life, and that one of his offspring will occupy it after him.

One of his adult sons is to be found daily in the company of the mayor either in his office, at the home of the mayor's wife, at the home of the mayor's mistress, or in the stores and bars of the town drinking with the mayor. This son has no official government position but is essential to the functioning of the mayor's office. For he acts as a buffer and informer between the mayor and the people of the municipality. His friends live in towns and cities throughout the coastal region. He knows where and through whom to get something done, and he can handle many of the small daily

problems brought to the mayor. He is known locally and regionally as _un hombre de la parranda_ or a man who enjoys drinking, singing, telling stories, and dancing. He counts among his friends several famous song writers of the coast, several popular bands and orchestras of the coast, and the famous Colombian novelist García Márquez. Through his wide ranging contacts he keeps abreast of many things of interest to the mayor, such as how the problem of squatters is being handled in another town of the zone, the political ups and downs of friends, and the way in which the mayor's actions are received and judged throughout the department of Magdalena. But most importantly, he is from one of the powerful Liberal families of the municipality, while the mayor is a Conservative appointed by a Conservative government in Santa Marta. The notary's son acts as a mediator between these old families and the mayor of the opposite political party.

The municipality of Orejones has a single Catholic priest in the town of Majagua. A smaller satellite town nearby has a church but no priest is assigned. The priest in Majagua gives services on Sunday in the satellite town, but most residents of that town journey to Majagua for weddings, special masses, baptisms, funerals, confirmations, and to obtain copies of records kept by the priest which are needed for other purposes. The priest is a _cachaco_ or highlander and came to this community only 10 years ago. He is also a landowner of a small highland _finca_ or farm which is worked by an employee of his, a good sized herd of cattle,

and several milch cows scattered among peasants with land near to the town who bring a portion of this milk into town each day for sale to the <u>tiendas</u> or small stores. In addition the priest is a petty lender of small amounts of cash to the highland peasants. He charges from 10 to 20% interest on these loans. Aside from these activities his major functions include record keeping, collection of fees for services rendered, and the enactment of his role as leader of sacred ritual events.

Every seven years the bishop from Santa Marta comes to town during his round of visiting his constituents. The bishop is given lavish dinners by the town's only religious <u>cofadia</u>, a religious sodality, drinks with the priest from the parish house wine closet, and learns of the needs of the parishoners. Such visits result in improvements in the Church's property in the town, such as painting the church and parish house, purchasing new ritual paraphernalia, or purchasing new vestments for the priest. During the evening of his last day in town the bishop is given a traditional serenade by the young people of the town, mostly from the upper sector families, and he blesses them from his bedroom window before departing the following day.

The commercial specialists in the community provide a variety of services for the municipal population. Several general stores, a drug store, a hardware store, a dry goods store, several barber shops, two poolrooms, numerous bars, several garages and gas stations, several houses of prosti-

tution, and numerous tiendas or small shops draw the town and rural populace into the central business district (see Figure 4). At the center of this district is the intersection known as the four corners or las cuatro esquinas. In the evening men of the town gather here to chat and visit with male friends, to buy refreshments from street vendors and storekeepers, and to shop. During the day the same area is occupied by steady streams of females carrying out their daily shopping. One block away is the market building and the fresh fruits and vegetables, beef, salted fish, and cheese available are generally purchased in the morning. On weekend nights the market area and the four corners are occupied by males from the countryside who come into town to shop, drink, and visit with friends.

The services of professionals such as the two physicians, the dentist, and the town lawyer are available also in the central business district. In addition, artisans and craftsmen such as tailors, potters, carpenters, bakers, saddle makers, and appliance repairmen can be found in this business district and on the side streets nearby. The town's only bank is located here also, as well as the movie theater, two large dance salons, and the bottled gas outlet.

The plaza is a block away to the west of the business area. Here is the Catholic church and the large parish house. The mayor's house is on the other side of the plaza together with the homes of many of the upper sector families. Only a few of these compare with the size and furnishings

of the parish house. To the west of the plaza is a corn grinding mill where peasants can sell their corn or have it ground for a fee. A site called _Placita Vieja_, the old plaza, is located a block away from the corn grinding mill. This is the site of the original town of Macondo, the small hamlet which preceded the present town, originally consisting of about 20 houses on a small park. A cement monument marks the spot, although no commemorative plaque is to be found. The houses are of wood and palm thatch. Here the elite founding families first settled, and many contemporary upper sector families trace their origins to one of these run-down houses. Today _Placita Vieja_ is surrounded by the poor neighborhood called _20 de Julio_, named for the Independence Day of July 20th. Upper sector families moved to the new plaza and the neighborhood called _Loma Fresca_ during the boom days of the banana industry.

Directly behind the church stands the building housing the offices of the municipal government. On any given day one can find several groups of men gathered in the street below the two story structure. They are negotiating sales, purchases, or transfers of properties, seeking the mayor's signature on a document, or resolving various problems involving land invaders, stolen property, or the normal conflicts and altercations which mark life in the community. The small _tienda_ nearby draws these men throughout the day as they purchase drinks for one another and discuss their negotiations. Here lawyer and peasant, day laborer and

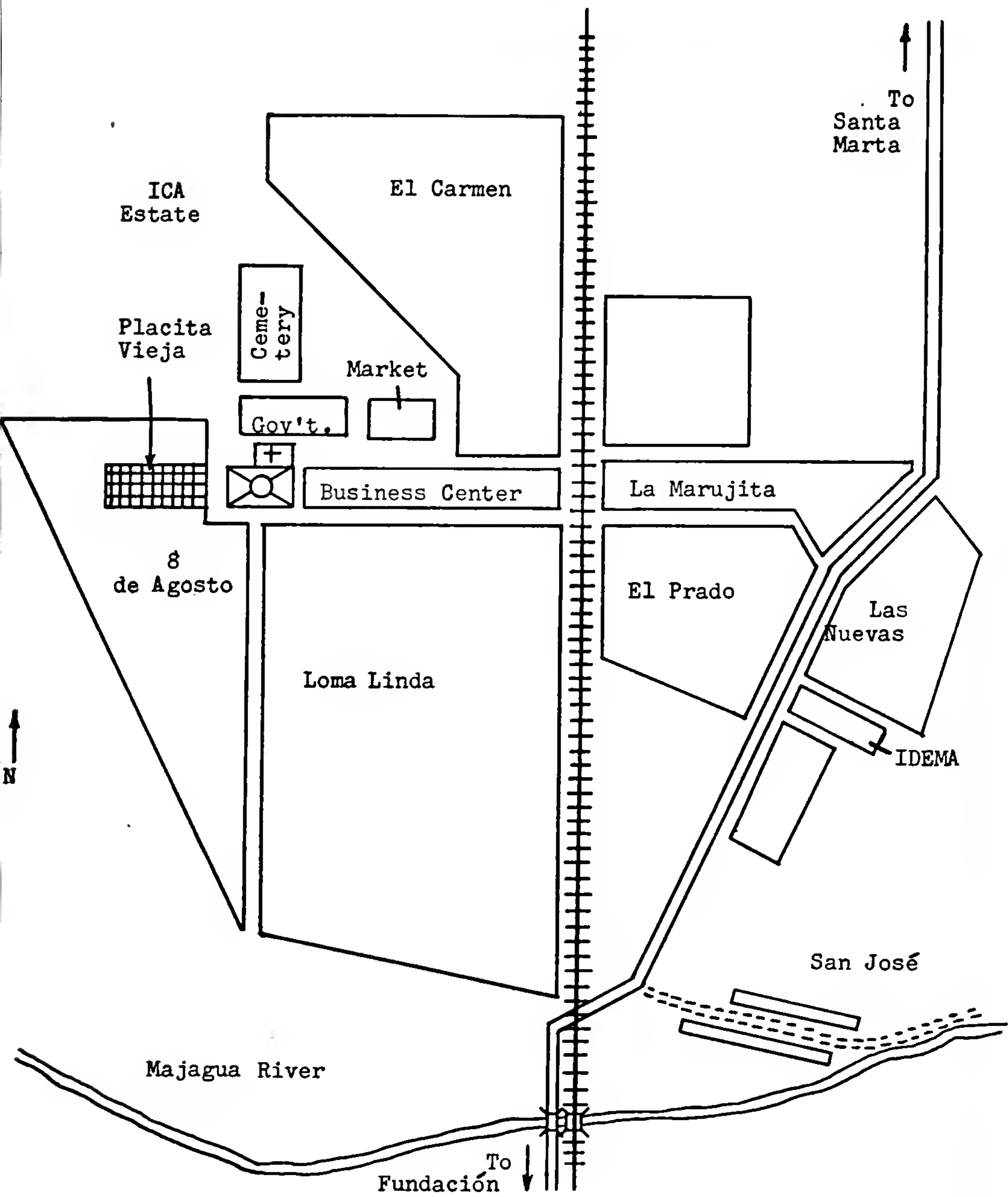

FIGURE 4

Schematic Drawing of the Town of Majagùa

estate manager, landowner and beggar meet. Everyone knows everyone else, but interaction occurs only in the compact little groupings of individuals of similar status. One finds representatives of the full range of the community's social groupings reflected in the small interacting groups at this particular tienda.

The neighborhoods of the town reflect social groupings through space. Each is laid out in the well known grid plan of the Spanish nodal center. Only Placita Vieja has irregularly placed houses, with winding streets, for at this site houses once stood on extensive garden plots which in later years were broken up and sold in pieces to the flood of immigrants into the newly created banana zone. The rest of the town is arranged in a series of streets running at right angles to one another. Each of the neighborhoods can be contrasted in terms of the kinds of dwelling structures present.

The house in this part of Colombia is not confined to the dwelling structure. The houses of the town consist of two areas that a stranger might interpret as two distinct spaces. These are the dwelling proper and its patio. Among the wealthier families kitchens are enclosed within the dwelling in a room, and cooking is done on a bottle gas stove. But for most of the residents of the town the kitchen is a table, a ceramic water jug, and a wood or charcoal cooking fire, all covered by a thatched roof. This is always located behind or to the side of the dwelling in the patio,

and is the scene of a great proportion of familial interaction. The kitchen, dwelling, garden, fruit trees, herb pots, flowers, and an outhouse are all surrounded by a fence. The fenced-in area is the household compound in its entirety. The fence may be of brick, cement block, bamboo poles, or scrap tin, but a fence is always present.

It is not the case that certain house types are invariably associated with cannabis use, but it is certain that cannabis users generally live in certain kinds of houses. Of course nonusers also live in such structures. These are the bareque or the palm thatched mud and bamboo houses, the most common house form in the town and the traditional house form of the Magdalena region. It has a high pitched thatch palm roof, a dirt floor, few windows if any, and generally includes a living area, a bedroom for children, and a bedroom for parents. It sits on a patio surrounded by a bamboo or hardwood stick fence. This is the house of the lower social sector of the coastal subculture and is to be found most frequently in the neighborhoods 8 de Agosto, Las Nuevos, El Prado, La Marujita, San José, and El Carmen.

Interspersed among the bareques are others of wood with palm thatched roofs and dirt floors, rowhouses of wood with tin roofs constructed by the United Fruit Company, and houses of material. The house of material is built of a mixture of brick and cement block, often in a way which forms geometrical patterns that are considered decorative. These houses are evolutionary products of particularly successful lower sector families. They are built in stages around old houses of bareque

the walls going up while the older house stands within them and the roof being built alongside the new structure to replace the thatched roof of the _bareque_ when the moment comes to demolish the old house. Roofs are preferably of corrugated zinc. To have such a house is the ambition of many lower sector families. Cannabis users are just as likely to achieve that ambition as are nonusers.

The most elegant and desirable type of house by Western standards is that occupied by the upper social sector families. It is concrete block. The design includes embellishment with an iron grill work over the large windows, a tile floor, an indoor bathroom, an indoor kitchen, several bedrooms, a living room, a front porch, and a tile roof. The patio is still an essential feature, with its flowers, fruit trees, herb cans, and perhaps a few chairs. In these patios one may also find a jeep parked, or a truck, a tractor, a rice harvester, or some combination of these. A tall wall of cement block studded on the top with bits of broken bottles and window panes surrounds this kind of dwelling unit. Few if any cannabis users live in such houses. But all of those who deal commercially in cannabis and other contraband merchandise live in such dwellings.

The elegant houses of the upper sector families, with their Spanish-Moorish flare, their patio full of modern machinery, and their walls studded with broken glass, are uniformly located in the barrios _El Carmen_ and _Loma Linda_ These were the two neighborhoods which first developed during

the banana boom, each located on the western side of the railroad tracks and separated from each other by the central business district. *El Carmen* was originally the poorer of the two, since it was the neighborhood of the working people. *Loma Linda* has always been the neighborhood of the elite. But with the upward mobility induced by the banana boom and the subsequent departure of the United Fruit Company the neighborhood of *El Carmen* came to be a center of upper sector residences as well. In contrast, *8 de Agosto*, *Los Nuevas*, *El Prado*, *La Marujita*, *San José*, and some scattered dwelling areas that have not yet coalesced into neighborhoods have developed during the period from 1930 to the present. *Las Nuevas* in particular is a recent addition to the town, located on the new paved road, and occupied by many prosperous highland merchants. The highlanders are the most recent migrants to the community. While their dwellings are no different from those of members of the coastal lower social sector highlanders do possess a distinct subculture. They neither use cannabis nor distribute it commercially; rather they constitute the commercial growers of the community.

The distribution of the populace through space, then, mirrors the growth pattern of the town: the older, wealthier neighborhoods located on the west side of the railroad tracks, the new poorer neighborhoods located farther to the west of these and to the east of the railroad tracks, and the most recent neighborhoods fronting the new paved road. The spatial distribution also reflects the social sectors which

compose the community: the coastal day laborers, peasants, artisans, and small shop owners living in the poorer barrios, the estate managers, estate employees, government employees, professionals, and landowners in the wealthier neighborhoods, and the highland peasants in the most recently settled areas. In a general sense cannabis is related to these divisions. One finds consumers most often in the newer, poorer town neighborhoods, commercial distributors in the older, wealthier neighborhoods, and the commercial cultivators in the newest areas of colonization in the foothills of the Sierra.

Surrounding the town and stretching for miles to the west is a system of dirt roads and trails together with an elaborate irrigation system, each of which links together the various cattle and rice estates and scattered peasant hamlets of the lowlands. The tree lined dirt roads and trails are traversed daily by most of the town's working occupants as they commute to and from the large estates or their own small holdings. Scattered peasant farms can be found, but they are few in number. A migratory rural agricultural working class is a distinctive trait of the community. The migratory laborer is a marked feature of modern Colombia (Cardona 1971). Recently a study of the coastal city of Barranquilla revealed that 69% of the residents in three tugurios or squatter settlements were migrants to the city (Usandizaga y Havens 1966:34). And Foster (1971:3-4) indicates that the proportion is about the same at present (67%), of which about 23.5% are from the Magdalena region.

Urban migration is thus a prominent feature of community life, but rural migration is even more characteristic of the coast (Bernal 1971:83). In Magdalena the majority of in-migrants are agricultural laborers with their families (Bernal 1971:83). The pattern is a regional one with migrants coming most often from Bolivar, Santander, Atlantico, and the Guajira in that order (Bernal 1971:72-75). Such a migratory agricultural laboring class is a marked feature of Orejones.

The small peasant holding is, therefore, not typical of this community form. The size of land holdings in Orejones has been tabulated by the Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística (1971:12). Figure 5 shows the range of the size of land holdings, based upon the concept of a "unit of exploitation." Such a unit is defined as all land exploited by a single producer. When I attempted to check these figures with the records of the catastro municipal or municipal land register in the town a difference of a little under 500 units of exploitation (about half of the official total) was encountered. This is due to the fact that most large land owners do not pay taxes to local governments, hence their holdings are not registered in the land register of the municipality. Likewise, numerous squatters on United Fruit Company lands prior to the 1960's, land which is now the property of the government, have neither requested nor been granted title to the land. The records of the National Department of Statistics are more accurate than local records and will be used here.

Size of holding in hectareas	Number of units of exploitation
Less than 1	20
1 to 2	40
2 to 3	70
3 to 4	83
4 to 5	50
5 to 10	105
10 to 20	98
20 to 30	79
30 to 40	59
40 to 50	79
50 to 100	253
100 to 200	165
200 to 500	71
500 to 1000	16
1000 to 2500	11
over 2500	0
Total	1,199

FIGURE 5

Size of Land Holding in Orejones

A comparison between the number of holdings of between 1 and 50 hectáreas or hectares (2.47 acres), a total of 783, and holdings of between 50 and 2,500 hectares, a total of 455, reveals that a small part of the population controls the vast majority of the land. This is a community form characterized by the latifundia or the large tract of land rather than the minifundia or the small plot of land. The average size land holding is 80 hectares, but clearly the large estate dominates and is considered here the characteristic land use pattern.

Above the town in the foothills live the highland immigrants known as cachacos who utilize the land in quite a different manner. The highlanders colonized this region only 18 to 20 years ago, and as yet only minimal kinship ties link them to the population of the lowlands, yet they are dependent upon the lowland town for a market through which they sell the produce of their gardens. They live on dispersed individual family farms of from 50 to 200 hectares. They form an endogamous, homogeneous, ethnocentric, and successful element of the community.

The setting of the community, then, is a complex one. Large estates, lowland towns, and highland peasants constitute the broad features of Orejones. In order to narrow the focus, sample surveys were taken of three kinds of settlement forms. Basic data having to do with household composition, education, occupation of household head, places of birth, work histories, age at marriage or mating, age at birth of

first child, years of residence in the municipality, etc., were collected. One town neighborhood, El Carmen, of mixed social composition, consisting of 76 households was surveyed. One rural hamlet of 25 households composed of lowland squatters, peasants, estate employees, artisans, and day laborers was surveyed. And one highland vereda of 10 households was surveyed. These three samples constitute the range of settlement forms which compose the community.

At a general level, certain similarities and differences can be observed between the samples. First, the rural coastal hamlet and the town barrio parallel one another in all important aspects. The family is generally a nuclear one, or in some stage of the development of a stem-family. More than half of the adult aged persons of both sexes live in free unions rather than married unions. The majority of household heads were born in other departments, other municipalities, and other towns of the coast. Slightly more female mates of household heads were born in Orejones or Majagua, but the majority were born elsewhere. The great majority of families report filial and affinal relations with families located all over the north coast of Colombia, an area composed of five departments. Most household heads have worked solely in agriculture all of their lives, but about 20% have worked in cities of the coast. The majority have worked in more than one municipality sometime during their lives, and most have worked in several different departments on the eastern side of the Magdalena river. The vast majority have never

completed primary schooling, most having from one to three years of formal education. High school diplomas are rare.

In the highland sample the household is an extended one. About half of the adult aged persons live in free rather than married unions. All household heads were born in other departments, since they are all colonists from the interior. Few of these have ever been migratory workers. Some were sharecroppers in their home municipalities, others were owners of quite small land holdings. All directly cite the _violencia_ or the armed peasant uprising which lasted from 1948 until the mid 1960's as their reason for abandoning the interior and colonizing the rugged mountains. All but one of the female mates of household heads were born in the interior. All households report relatives in their home municipalities, but only two report relatives on the coast. Only two family heads have been to primary school, whereas the majority have no formal schooling. One female mate has been to primary school. There are no high school diplomas here and none of the children attends any of the lowland schools.

The differences between these two subcultural groups are not restricted to place of origin, household form, education, occupational status, place of residence, and kinship ties to nearby settlements. The day laborers, peasants, and artisans of the coastal hamlets and towns are petty cultivators, petty distributors, and consumers of cannabis. The professionals, landowners, and government

employees of the town are commercial distributors for the urban markets of the coast. And the highland peasants are commercial cultivators of cannabis.

Since a clearly defined using population exists side by side with a nonusing population, a controlled comparison of the significant structural differences which obtain between the two is possible. This comparison is especially significant when it is recognized that the nonusing population produces tons of cannabis for the market each year. This comparison can discriminate with precision those social relationships with which cannabis use is associated, the functions which cannabis use serves, and the explanation why cannabis use has not diffused to the group which produces cannabis commercially.

CHAPTER II

CULTURAL ORIGINS OF THE COMMUNITY

Diffusion of Cannabis

The introduction of cannabis into Spanish South America is not well known. Patiño (1967, 1969) indicates that hemp was introduced not once but several times by the Spanish: experiments were attempted in Peru, Mexico, Chile, and Colombia, but only Chile developed the capacity to export hemp fiber to Spain (Patiño, 1969:395). In Colombia reports from 1607, 1610, 1632, and 1789 indicate that repeated introductions failed to produce a hemp industry for the rigging of the Spanish fleet (Patiño 1969:394-395). Silvestre (Vergara y Velasca 1901:LX-LXI) in his 1789 description of the viceroyalty of Santafé (sic) de Bogotá indicates that hemp was introduced in the savana of Bogotá, but it failed so completely that no seed was available for further experimentation. He urges the reintroduction of hemp near Santa Marta or Cartegena and urges that seed be shipped from Spain (Vergara y Velasca 1901:LII). In Silvestre's opinion hemp could replace _cabuya_ or the fiber of _Fourcroya foetida_ (Patiño 1967:30) in Colombia, indicating the most telling reason for the former's failure in South America. _Fique_, _pita_, or _cabuya_ was collected in tribute from the indigenous peoples of Colombia by the first Spanish colonists (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1951:111). As late as the early 1800's _cabuya_ was a Colombian export (Vergara y Velasca 1901:822). _Cabuya_

replaced hemp in such items as sandals, rope and cordage, sacks, harnesses, and fish nets (Patiño 1967:45-48). And another native fiber, cotton, replaced hemp in even such a basic item as candle wick, used in huge quantities in the minds of South America (Patiño 1967:109). It appears that native fiber producing plants acted as a barrier to the diffusion of hemp. As late as the present century experiments continue in Colombia (Patiño 1969:395), but no hemp industry has ever existed in Colombia compared to that which existed in North America (Seale, et al. 1952:14).

The use of cannabis as an intoxicant or hallucinogen is still another question. Linguistic evidence points to West African slaves brought to Brazil as one possible route of diffusion of cannabis smoking to the New World (Patiño 1969: 405, Walton 1938:24, Aranúgo 1959:313). The adoption of cannabis smoking by indigenous people of Brazil seems to confirm the antiquity of this diffusion (Wagley and Galvão 1949:41). Linguistic evidence from Jamaica, as well as a complex of cultural elements present, indicate East Indian indentured laborers as another route of diffusion to English speaking areas of the Caribbean (Rubin and Comitas n.d. page 13). Yet a third diffusion route is the Spanish colonist. Ardila Rodriguez (1965:48) notes that the plant was cultivated in Mexico immediately after the first trip of Cortes, and attributes introduction to one Pedro Cuadrado who accompanied the conqueror. By 1550 an ordinance was passed in Mexico which prohibited the cultivation of cannabis, presumably due

to its use as an hallucinogen (Ardila Rodriguez 1965:48). As late as 1886 and 1898 cannabis mixed with tobacco, sugar, chili, and mescale was drunk in Mexico (Walton 1938:25). Early reports from Mexico indicate that cannabis was smoked by some indigenous peoples but this is unverifiable (Ardila Rodriguez 1965:48). And recently Williams García (1963) has reported on the ritual use of cannabis among a contemporary indigenous people.

Several sources of diffusion, therefore, appear likely points of origin of cannabis on the north coast of Colombia. Of these the West African slaves of Brazil appear an unlikely choice, for there has been little historical contact among the peoples of northern Brazil and coastal Colombia either by sea or overland. The Mesoamerican source of diffusion is also unlikely, since there has been no historical contact among the peoples of Mexico and coastal Colombia. The cultivation of hemp for fiber does not correlate with cannabis smoking, since cannabis has been exported to Spain since 1545 from Chile and the use of the plant as an hallucinogen is not reported (Ardila Rodriguez 1965:49). The Brazilian or Mesoamerican sources seem unlikely also because the complex of cultural traits associated with cannabis smoking in these areas, such as linguistic usage, ritual sequences, and ritual beliefs, are not replicated in Colombia.

Cannabis use in Colombia appears to be a recent innovation, dating from the beginning decades of the 20th century. Cannabis smoking is reported in Central America, both Costa

Rica and Panama, in the 1920's and 1930's (Walton 1938:24, Siler *et al*. 1933:269). In each case cannabis use is described as an innovation introduced by migratory sailors and workers. Walton (1938:24) discovered that East Indian terms were applied to cannabis in Costa Rica, indicating the Antilles as the source of the recent diffusion (Rubin and Comitas n.d.). Ardila Rodriguez (1965:82) suggests that the diffusion of cannabis smoking dates from the work on the Panama Canal and the "intense human interchange" which resulted among the circumcaribbean countries. Cannabis smoking probably came to the coast of Colombia with workers and sailors from the Antilles where cannabis smoking is relatively older (Rubin and Comitas n.d.). This suggestion is given weight by the fact that both Costa Rican and Colombian laws concerning marihuana date from 1927 and 1928 respectively (Patiño 1969:405, Ardila Rodriguez 1965:67-68). Still it was not until around 1945 that the Colombian press began reporting clandestine cannabis plantations on the Atlantic coast and in the Cauca valley (Patiño 1969:405).

It should be noted parenthetically that cannabis has always competed with indigenous hallucinogens, narcotics, and intoxicants used by native peoples of Colombia and adopted in part by the Spanish colonist. These include *Erythoxylon coca*, *Banisteriopsis spp*., *Phyllanthus mexiae*, *Opuntia spp*., *Datura arborea*, *Methysticodendron amesianum*, *Nicotiana tabacum*, and *Clibadium surinamense*. Of these only *Nicotiana* in its various species was adopted by the

Spanish, which with coca had the widest distribution and popularity in the New World. Tobacco was snuffed for headache, chewed for toothache, smoked for "cold humors," and mixed with rum and aguardiente and applied to insect bites (Patiño 1967:290-291). Negro slaves and Spanish masters are reported to use tobacco for working because it reduced fatigue (Patiño 1967:295-297). Tobacco was allotted as part of the rations of workers on a Jesuit hacienda due to this property of reducing fatigue (Patiño 1967:296). Perhaps we have here another barrier to diffusion of cannabis in South America, namely, native plants which served similar functions in the culture of the conquerors and subject peoples. The claims made for tobacco in the 16th century are identical to those made for cannabis in the 20th century. Since both are smoked in cigarette form it is likely that here we find the vehicle through which cannbis diffused from the Antilles to South America. But this was not a case of stimulus diffusion. It appears that diffusion did not take place until migratory workers from the Antilles settled on the coast of South America. Only then did substitution occur.

In Orejones one finds the West Indian houses which are so distinctive when contrasted with Colombian houses. There was a considerable influx of West Indian labor when the United Fruit Company began operations on the coast of Colombia in 1896. While it cannot be proven, it seems likely that migratory workers from the West Indies were the source of diffusion for cannabis smoking in Colombia. These origins

will remain obscure, however, for the West Indians melted into coastal subculture several generations back. An intensive search for the origins of cannabis smoking in Colombia, however, is not the objective of this research; rather it is the group structures and social relationships through which cannabis diffused, and those through which it did not.

The nature of social relations and group structures on the north coast of Colombia can be traced back to adaptive responses of specific social traditions to certain ecological, geographical, and historical conditions. Changes in these conditions and social traditions, as well as the in-migration of distinct social traditions, make the origins of the community on the north coast complex. They lie in several separate adaptive responses, several social traditions, and the various distinctive forms of social groupings which perpetuate these.

The first is the Spanish derived urban oriented _hato_ and the Indian derived urban oriented _roza_, the cattle estate and the subsistence plot, each of which feeds the populace of urban and rural areas alike. The second lies in the industrially organized agricultural exploitation under the monopoly of the United Fruit Company. The third is represented by Andean peasants living on dispersed individual family farms.

The Region

Patiño (1965:384) notes that the nature of agro-pastoralism in Colombia has changed little over the colonial, republican, and contemporary periods. It was not until the arrival of mechanized agriculture during the 20th century that any basic changes occurred in the nature of subsistence, or in the nature of social relationships organized about subsistence activity. This is particularly true of the region of Magdalena in which Orejones and Majagua are located.

The nature of subsistence activity on the north coast is structured by a basic ecological fact: one crop is produced each year due to the seasonal alteration between seven months of rain (April to October) and four months of drought (November to March) (Patiño 1965:16-17, Rosales 1934:100). It is only in the Andean highlands of Colombia, the three mountain ranges or cordilleras and their valleys, that two crops a year are possible without the use of irrigation. This fact explains much of the reason for the dense colonization of the Andean areas, areas where complex native societies provided abundant food for the conquerors.

On the coast only in the area of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta were two crops produced annually. This was the province of the Tairona civilization based upon elaborate irrigation agriculture and exterminated at the beginning of the conquest of South America (Patiño 1965: 75-76, 51, 93, 107, Reichel-Dolmatoff 1951:37-38). These systems of

irrigation are no longer extant, having suffered extreme neglect under the conditions of conquest, so that the region is today less productive than centuries before (Patiño 1965:107). As Reichel-Dolmatoff (1951:22-23) observes, the densely populated region was won at a high cost of blood, after which the conquerors lost interest, leaving the region relatively depopulated and uncolonized until the present century.

With the deterioration of the Tairona irrigation works the land use pattern reverted to the capacity for only a single crop annually. This fact discouraged any dense colonization during the following centuries. Cities were founded at Cartegena, Santa Marta, along the banks of the Magdalena river, and at the headwaters of that river in the interior. But these did not spark the colonization of the hinterlands, which remained refuge areas for _palenqueros_, escaped Negro slaves, for army deserters and soldiers of fortune, and for criminals and ragged remnants of Indian groups (Escalante 1964:117). In contrast, the areas producing two crops annually, the savana of Santa Fe de Bogotá, the Cauca Valley, the mountains of Pasto, Popayán, and Antioquia, were steadily colonized over several centuries. The story of the Nuevo Reino de Granada is generally written about these latter areas. Those areas which the Spanish leap-frogged in order to reach the riches of the interior have been consistently neglected. The Magdalena region was one of these.

Santa Marta served as the port of entry and retreat for

the Spanish conquistadores for a century. Most conquerors who came to get rich in the New World passed through the city. Practically none stayed for very long. Of the 200 family names registered in the 16th century in the old baptismal and marriage and death records of the Cathedral in Santa Marta none occur more than once (Alarcón 1963:64).

Aside from the lure of riches there were other reasons for the continual flow through the city. Foremost among these was vulnerability. English and French pirates attacked and sacked the city of Santa Marta committing "all kinds of savage acts that reduced the city to ruin" in the following years: 1544, 1548, 1550, 1553, 1559, 1560, 1563, 1570, 1572, 1580, 1585, 1586, 1596, 1619, 1629, 1630, 1643, 1655, 1669, 1677, 1679, 1680, 1681, 1692, 1694, 1702, 1704, 1712, 1740, and 1779 (Alarcón 1963:64). But, in addition, resources were depleted and the city reduced to ashes a number of times by Indian attacks and by troop uprisings. It is little wonder that Viceroy Ezpeleta characterized the people of Santa Marta as follows:

> tienen pies para pisar la riqueza, pero no tienen manos con que recogerla (Alarcón 1963:9)
>
> they have feet for stepping on riches, but not hands with which to pick it up.

Despite such conditions the residents of Santa Marta were not lacking in riches. Many amassed fortunes in gold, pearls, fibers, and food crops which were exported (mainly to the Island colonies of the Antilles) together with thousands of Indian slaves. But once such wealth was accumulated

the Spaniard generally withdrew to the peaceful colonies of Santo Domingo, Cuba, and Hispanola. And another wave of conquerors swept the region. In the process the surrounding Indian populations were decimated, and the land remained sparsely colonized.

The hinterlands were exploited, generally, in two ways, each intimately connected to the cities of the coast. These were the Spanish-imposed hato or cattle estate and the Indian-derived roza, huerta, labranza, or chácara, consisting usually of small plots planted to a mixture of corn, manioc, plantain, beans, peppers, and other foods consumed by Indians, Negro slaves, and Spanish conquerors alike. It is in the relationship between the hato, the roza, and the city that we find the basis for the structure of this early society, a structure which has changed little over 400 years.

Cities were of two general types: those founded near native towns whereby the Indian populations could be pillaged for food and later forced to pay tribute voluntarily under the threat of pillage, and those founded on communication and transportation routes as market centers and centers of distribution. Examples of the first type were Santa Marta, Rioacha, Cartegena, Ciénaga, and others on the coast. Examples of the second type were Mompós, Talameque, Tenerife, Salamina, Honda, and others on the waterways which led inland to the populous interior provinces. The hato and roza were associated with each type of city, for each were necessary to the survival of the Spanish settler and the commerce in food, hides,

fibers, and precious metals and minerals which grew up everywhere even before the Spanish had settled and built homes.

The Estate System

The first cattle and the idea of the hato were introduced from the Spanish colonies in the Antilles (Patiño 1970: 204-205). The wars of extermination fought in the Magdalena region during the first half of the 16th century appear not to have seriously hampered the development of the cattle estate, for during the years between the founding of Santa Marta in 1525 and the year 1539 the region became known for the excellence of its cattle industry (Patiño 1965:206, 280). The primary vehicle for this development was the encomienda which was initiated in the Santa Marta area as early as 1529 (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1951:19). The nature of the encomienda is well described elsewhere (Hanke 1949, Simpson 1950). It will suffice to describe it as an extensive amount of land and labor entrusted to the Spanish settler in exchange for his services in Christianizing his charges. Its first activities involved cattle and mining, since grains and vegetables were obtained through tribute from hostage native towns. The term hato is used here because it refers to a cattle ranch, whether this be staffed by Indian slaves, Indian tribute labor, Negro slaves, free Negroes, or free mestizos. It is characterized by an urban-dwelling landowner, an administrator, and laborers (slaves, employees, wage laborers, etc.). While forms of land aquisition and labor recruitment changed from

time to time the structure of life on the hato changed little.

The cattle estate evolved in two forms, each growing out of New World phenomenon of wild range cattle (Patiño 1965: 364, Exquemelin 1951). Cattle were identified as corraleras, mansas, estravagantes, and montaraces. The first were those that grazed either within the corral or house compound and were milked daily. They entered the corral without protest and were easily moved from place to place by workers on foot. The mansas were those who required several days of labor to herd into the corrals, with the aid of workers of the estate mounted on horseback. The estravagantes were cattle which roamed wild over the estate, yet carried the brand of the owner. This meant the animal had been herded into a rodeo somewhere on the savanas or plains with the aid of mounted men and hunting dogs, wrestled to the ground with lances and ropes, and marked as the property of the owner. If resistance was too great the lances were used to kill the animal. Last, the montaraces or bravias were truly wild cattle of the forest which were simply hunted and killed. They were so wild that lances were used to hold the animal while a rope was used to tie it to a tree. There it tired of fighting and could be killed by a man on foot with a machete (Patiño 1965:366-367).

The early hato was an operation which consisted primarily in the efforts of an administrator to domesticate the wild cattle. Fences were prohibited by law until the end of the 19th century, except for crops and corrals

(Patiño 1965:315). Milking was not common enough to prevent the regression of cattle to a state in which they gave little milk (Patiño 1965:374-375). Wild cattle were hunted for their hides, tongues, and fat for export all over Colombia (Patiño 1965:365), and the jerked beef called tasajo was shipped from Magdalena up the rivers into the interior by the end of the 16th century (Patiño 1970:252).

Such extensive ranching based upon wild cattle yielded to intensive operations as more and more cattle and people filled the area. While the extensive operation centered on the annual rodeo or assembly of wild cattle for selection, killing, branding, curing, cutting horns, etc., the intensive operation sought to milk tame animals. These were kept in closed corrals near population centers or urban areas (Patiño 1965:371). The corral was moved at intervals so as to change pasture grasses, as the Spanish did not bring the tradition of cut grass or hay for penned animals, and the pasture used was naturally occurring until quite recently (Patiño 1965:374).

The extensive cattle hatos were located in the isolated areas where range herds roamed at will. The complaints of the Indian towns and urban planters throughout the colonial period bear testimony to the crop damage done by these herds. The hundreds of pages of legislation forbidding free ranging cattle from agricultural areas constitute a major monument to the inefficiency of restrictive legislation (Patiño 1965:342).

The area of Magdalena was characterized by both inten-

sive and extensive hatos, although the intensive operations developed relatively late and were located close to the urban populations. The area around the city of Santa Marta and the commercial center of Ciénaga (through which traffic has moved out of the hinterlands into the interior via the river Magdalena for centuries) was the scene of intensive hatos, the owners of which produced two to three arrobas or bushels of cheese daily for local urban populations. These hatos averaged from 200 to 300 cattle in their corrals (Patiño 1970:246). The area between the Magdalena river and the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta (the future banana zone) was a center for extensive hatos (Patiño 1970:223). A good example is that of Rodrigo Bastides, the founder of Santa Marta. Upon his death it held over 8,000 cattle (Patiño 1970:204). Such a figure is not atypical of the extensive hato, for these were huge estates. So large were they that figures such as 16,000 head, 12,000 head, and 40,000 head are not uncommon from colonial times to the present (Patiño 1970:223-224).

The Subsistence Horticultural System

From the beginning the Spanish invaders survived through dependence upon indigenous technologies and forms of social organization. The invaders were cattlemen. They depended completely upon the native populations for food, labor, and material and technological devices (Patiño 1965: 437-438). Famine in Santa Marta came when "the Indian rebelled" and among residents of that city it was said that

"those who do not have Indians cannot be said to be living" (Patiño 1965:38). The _cabildo_, or city fathers, of Santa Marta in 1547 petitioned for 12 skilled workers from Spain to carry out projects for the city, promising that each worker would be given two Negroes "_para que produzcan_," or so that they might produce (Patiño 1965:465).

The Spanish invader survived due to a complex system of tribute levied on the Indian peoples, including compulsory planting laws (Patiño 1965:340). Tributes set were for quite specific amounts: four _hanegas_ or 1.6 bushels of corn each month, 10 fowl each week (five female and five male), a set number of fish, eggs, salt, woven _mochilas_ or carrying bags, sacks of _fique_ fiber or _Fourcroya foetida_, sandals of _fique_, fish nets, etc. depending upon the technology of the group under tribute and the needs of the Spaniard (Patiño 1965:405-408, Reichel-Dolmatoff 1951:111). Under such conditions the native methods of production and forms of social organization and technologies persisted to the present (Patiño 1965:329, 381-382, 457). Where the Spanish successfully introduced European crops and technologies (e.g. wheat and ox-drawn plows in the highlands) the Indians learned new technologies, although they continued to subsist through planting their own traditional _rozas_. In general, the Spanish, Indian, and Negro lived off of native crops in the coastal and lowland areas where European crops could not diffuse (Patiño 1965:331-332).

Dependence upon continuing tributes, however, presup-

poses the survival of the Indian peoples whose labor supports the Spanish armies. Most governors of the city of Santa Marta did not have foresight to recognize this truism, and continually sacked the Indian towns upon which the city at first depended. Gradually, these towns, made up of technically free Indians, became centers of peasant horticulturalists, and up until the present time continue to provide food for the city. These are towns such as Bonda, Gira, Taganga, and Mamatoca (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1951:14-15). The Indians did not survive, and as they died out they were replaced by Negro slaves and Negro and mestizo peasants. While slavery was universal from the beginning (preferably utilizing Indians further away from the urban nodes), the use of Negroes in horticulture arose only when the native sources were depleted (Patiño 1965:406). In fact, the importation of untaxed Negro slaves coincides with the extinction of the Indians and the abolishment of Indian tribute labor (Patiño 1965:339).

The tributes were met by the social forms which powered the _roza_. These were of two kinds: those located on the large estates or the gardens of the Europeans, and those located in small Indian towns. Tribute labor in the form of communal work parties was utilized on the farm, but this involved only the males of the Indian population. This form of work organization was traditional among the Indians of the coast. The Spanish in fact issued certain ordinances which permitted the Indians to conduct "_sus borracheras con_

<u>ocasion de las siembras colectivas, con la condición de evitar excesos</u>;" their drunken feasts upon occasion of the collective planting, on the condition that there not be excess (Patiño 1965:392). We read the following description of this collective work party called <u>la chagua</u>:

> Ellos por hacer menos trabajo en la labranza, tienen introducido un modo de cambio, que llaman chagua, de esta suerte, juntanse un día de la semana los indios de un pueblo ó parte de ellos, cada cual con su hacha y machete en la casa del indio que hace la labranza, y entre todos de desmontan la tierra, y la dejan apta para la siembra, teniendo obligación el dueño de la chagua de darles de comer y beber en aquel día, porque para ello se previene antes con la pesca o monteria, y la mujer con las tinajas de chicha. Este día para ellos es de huelga, y por eso suelen elegir el festivo, y es necesario que el doctrinero diga misa temprano, y cuide que la oigan. Vuelven a la noche y si ha quedado alguna bebida, forman su baile hasta acabarla. Recogense despues, y cuando alguno de aquellos hace su chagua, es obligado a concurrir a ella el indio que recibio el beneficio (Rosa 1945:261, quoted in Patiño 1965:392-393).

> They (Indians in the jurisdiction of Santa Marta) in order to have less work in their fields have introduced a change of pace, which they call the <u>chagua</u>, in which the Indians of a town gather one day of the week, or a part of them, each one with his axe and machete at the house of the Indian making the garden, and together they clear the brush away leaving it ready to plant, while the owner of the <u>chagua</u> is obligated to give food and drink that day, necessitating assembling much food on the part of the owner, and much maize beer on the part of his woman. This day for them is a day of rest and they treat it as a fiesta, so that it is necessary for the priest to say the mass early, and be careful that they pay attention. They return at night and if there is any drink left, form their dances until they tire. They retire then, and when one of them must sponsor a <u>chagua</u>, it is obligatory for the owner of the last one to participate since he received this benefit.

The male collective work group of this form is generally known to students of the central Andes by the term _minga_ or _minka_ which comes from Ecuador where the Incas and later the Spanish each integrated it into their systems of taxations and tribute work (Patiño 1965:393). So popular was this form of social contract with the Spanish that they attempted to spread it to areas where it was not a customary form of organization (Patiño 1965:342-343). The fact that the Spanish government attempted to finance hospitals for the indigent, care of the aged, food and clothing for the poor, as well as cultivation in the fields and house construction through such collective work parties is an indication of the enthusiasm with which they took to the idea (Patiño 1965: 342-343). The energy source for such beneficence, we should remember, was the compulsory labor tax on the indigenous community.

Labor Recruitment

The form of organization associated with the term _roza_ therefore is the cooperative work party. Clearing and burning off the land is the activity of a group of males drawn from the community who are given food and alcohol while they work. The males of each household then plant and weed the _roza_ during the growing season, and the females harvest the produce and carry it to where it is prepared (Patiño 1965:387). Collective labor on the estates of the _encomenderos_ and the cattle barons who followed them followed similar patterns, although on the _encomiendas_ and cattle estates males com-

pleted all tasks except preparation of the produce for consumption (Patiño 1965:409-410). While there is little direct evidence, it seems likely that females were used as domestic servants in the houses of the cattle barons. Certainly during later times the female Negro slaves were used in this fashion (Escalante 1964:129). Current slave raids into the jungles of the Amazon basin for the purpose of capturing female Indians to serve as domestics in the houses of the cattle barons of the Llanos Orientales suggest that in the colonial epoch women from the Indian towns were drafted in similar ways.

Indians were preferred to either Negroes or mestizos for agricultural labor (Patiño 1965:402), even though it was said that Negroes worked harder than Indians (Escalante 1964: 121). The reason lies in Spanish dependence upon native technologies and forms of organization in agriculture, mining, and transport (Patiño 1965:444-445). Near the end of the 16th century Negroes became increasingly important. They were being trained by Indians to operate native <u>bongos</u> or dugout canoes linking the coast with the interior on the river Magdalena at this time (Patiño 1965:405, 493). And the city of Santa Marta came to depend upon the labor of Negroes in subsistence horticulture about the same time (Patiño 1965:497). In general, as soon as natives disappeared, Negroes were rapidly imported (Patiño 1965:486).

Negro slavery existed alongside Indian slavery and tribute as contemporary forms of labor exploitation throughout the colonial period (Escalante 1964:117). The Negro

slave was preferred for labor in the mines; the association of Negroes with sugar plantations is second to the association with mining in this region (Patiño 1965:487, 503, Escalante 1964:121-123). From the 16th century founding of Santa Marta and Cartegena until the mid-19th century when slavery was abolished (1851) the slave revolt and the independent escaped slave towns called _palenques_ were constant features of the coastal hinterland (Escalante 1964: 114-117). Expeditions to subdue these free towns were continuous (and unsuccessful) during this period (Escalante 1964:114-117). Famous _palenques_ were located south of Santa Marta and in the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta (Patiño 1965: 515, Escalante 1964:113). But the greatest concentration of Negroes was on the _hato_, in the mines, and in subsistence _rozas_. "_Las haciendas de ganado y labranza de la Costa Atlantica. . . . se movían con trabajo esclavo_" or the cattle haciendas and subsistence farming of the Atlantic coast were powered by slave labor (Escalante 1964:131). This was particularly true of the area west of the Sierra Nevada, where the Negroes, both free and slave, played the roles of worker and administrator of extensive cattle ranches (Patiño 1965:510).

The sugar plantation on the coast of Colombia, as well as the plantations of cotton, tobacco, cacao, and anil, was worked by Indian tribute labor (Patiño 1965:412-419). But the monocrop plantations were never a prominent feature of the Atlantic coast (Patiño 1965:503, 1969:315). If Indian

groups became extinct it was due mostly to the traffic in Indian slaves for the great 16th century plantations of the Antilles (Patiño 1965:418). With extinction of the Indians the Negro became the worker. In this regard it is important to consider the role of the free Negro.

Escalante (1964) has emphasized the significance of the free Negro towns during the 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. Once they had become established (some to the point of signing treaties, see Escalante 1964:115-116) they produced horticultural crops to be marketed in the coastal cities by womenof the town carrying baskets on their heads (Escalante 1964:136). This seems to be a significant difference between the Antilles and the Continent; while the palenque was rarely found in the former, it was a marked feature of the latter (Escalante 1964:136). The importance of the free Negro to the survival of coastal society is emphasized by Patiño (1965:497) with the word "indispensable" in reference to subsistence horticulture.

The census report of Francisco Silvestre (Vergara y Velasca 1901:LX-LXI) of December, 1789, portrays the situation in terms of the categories the ecclesiastic chose for his description of the Santa Marta region of the coast:

Total Men	19,641
Total Women	20,301
Whites	4,566
Indians	8,506
Free Negroes and Mixed	22,882
Slave Negroes	3,988
Total Population	39,942

The proportion of free Negroes and mixed bloods to slave Negroes, Whites, and Indians is revealing, even if the totals are incorrect by as much as several thousand. The free Negro and mestizo working either as a subsistence horticulturalist (peasant) or in the cattle ranches constituted two-thirds of the population, and this 62 years before slavery was abolished. Additional evidence as to the importance of this sector of the population is found in General Santander's opposition to the recruitment of Negroes in the Colombian army during the war with Peru, since such recruitment would hurt subsistence horticulture upon which the army depended (Patiño 1965: 498).

The monoculture plantation in the Antilles, Brazil, and parts of Latin America is writ large in the histories of these regions. The unbroken continuity of peasant subsistence horticulture (Indian, Negro, Mestizo) in forming the character of these populations is often overlooked. We should not forget that Spaniard, Negro, Indian and mestizo ate corn, beef, manioc, beans, and other subsistence crops. They did not eat the gold or silver shipped to Europe or the goods which they got in exchange for sugar.

Forms of Human Organization

In summary, the *hato*, the *roza*, and the Spanish city formed the nexus of coastal society. The plantation was never characteristic of this region and the mines were soon exhausted, but the insatiable need for food is constant over all periods. The forms of human organization that developed

in response to this shared need must be considered central to an analysis of community life on the north coast.

Change in the forms of human organization came more slowly to the Magdalena region than to other parts of the coast. In the 1880's barbed wire diffused to Colombia from the United States. By the year 1896 it was declared a revolutionizing influence in Colombian cattle production (Patiño 1965:322). This was true only of the coastal hinterlands near Cartegena and not of Santa Marta. A Colombian geographer writing in 1898 compared the two regions, noting that around Cartegena the cattle were penned with the new wire but that in the Magdalena region around Santa Marta the traditional cimarrone cattle continued to roam the forests, savanas, and hills (Vergara y Velasca 1901:551). The geographer explains this difference in terms of the maggots produced by a certain fly in the Cartegena hinterlands, necessitating penning the animals for cleaning, whereas the hinterlands of Santa Marta were the area of the jején or gnat which did not infect the cattle (Vergara y Velasca 1901:551, 557). But there appears a more salient explanation.

The site of the present city of Barranquilla was populated since before colonial times. It was not until 1850 that the major growth of the city began, however, sparked by the completion of a railroad spur linking Barranquilla with the Atlantic Ocean deep port called Puerto Colombia (Vergara y Velasca 1901:811). When this happened the old port city of Santa Marta began to recede in importance.

The following chart in millions of pesos compares the export activity at the customs offices in these three major ports of the north coast between 1839 and 1891 (from Vergara y Velasca 1901:814-815):

	39-40	57-58	66-67	79-80	83-84	1891
Barranquilla	186	759	2,624	9,955	9,127	13,000
Cartegena	937	1,365	759	1,117	1,117	2,575
Santa Marta	124	2,108	1,422	1	23	35

As Vergara y Velasca (1901:811) notes, the fading of the port of Santa Marta and the rise to importance of Barranquilla means that the older city had come to export less and depend more upon local, internal markets. Perhaps this is an indication of declining population as well. Certainly the cattle industry marked time, if it did not actually fall behind production levels of former times.

The region of Magdalena and its capital city of Santa Marta thus became relatively isolated from the major flow of commerce and growth. It became a truly regional nexus of hinterland society and regional nodal centers and grew increasingly isolated and less dependent upon commerce with other regions. The great barrier of the Magdalena river was between Santa Marta and Barranquilla, and was crossed by a ferry at Salamina from the earliest times, but this permitted no significant expansion or development. It is significant that Salamina did not grow to sudden prominance when Santa Marta was eclipsed by Barranquilla. Because of such isolation the kinds of productive activities described above for the

coast of Colombia in the 16th century were observed as late as the late 19th century in the Magdalena region.

Still another expression of cultural persistence in the Magdalena region is the rebellions and civil wars which plagued it for 100 years. A recently published history of Magdalena (Alarcón 1963) consists of little more than a list of generals and battles fought for possession of towns and estates during the 19th century. The specific issues (federalism, independence, Masons, Catholocism, conservatism, liberalism, etc.) are of minor interest in the long run. For whatever the issue the result was always the same: the territorial repartition. These continual repartitions may be interpreted as evidence of the prolific war activity of the cattle barons of the 19th century when one examines the list of legislation effecting partitioning and repartitioning of the hinterlands, reflecting the rising and falling fortunes of the cattle barons. The departmental capital was changed several times, _municipio_ _cabeceras_ were changed with regularity, municipalities were carved up in one decade only to be reassembled the next, and populations living in towns and hamlets found themselves paying taxes to one government center one year and another the following year. Such a state of constant wars, treaties, and more wars mark 19th century Magdalena as an involuted region and as a region of intense competition among landowners for control of resources which grew progressively less productive as time passed. When, after 100 years of civil war, the Colombian _violencia_ came into existence in

the interior, it did not spread to the Magdalena region. The issues which divide residents of this region are different than those which divide the highlanders.

It has already been seen that the cattle estate typically requires the work of an administrator and a few full-time employees. All activities involving the cattle are easily handled by a small number of _vaqueros_ or cowboys. The only activity requiring the work of numerous hands today is the constant weeding of pasture grasses. But during the colonial and republican periods and in some places today, such maintenance was easily carried out by a few workers and the administrator. The constant plague of the _hato_ is the invasion of pasture grasses by weeds. The system of weed control which evolved, the _desmontona_, involved putting an excessive number of cattle in a pasture area to eat out the incipient weeds. This was usually done during the dry summer when grasses were dormant and cattle were forced to eat weeds. Often the activity involved cooperation among neighbors who would pool their herds in order to _desmontar_ a particular estate for a few weeks and then move on to another estate (Patiño 1965: 374). Today in Magdalena this custom is followed only in remote areas where labor is scarce, and field hands clean pasture grasses with machetes elsewhere.

Other activities such as branding, killing, castration, moving between pastures, cutting horns, etc. were all easily handled by the administrator and his _vaqueros_. Near the cities intensive _hatos_ devoted to milk and cheese production

used a number of *ordinarios* to milk the cattle, but judging from the number of these kinds of employees on dairy farms today (see Chapter III) there were never very many of them.

In summary, the *hato* called for only a few workers whose activities were directed by an administrator. Huge tracts of land supported a small population throughout the colonial, republican, and contemporary periods. Workers were granted plots of land for their own *rozas* or subsistence plots, just as slaves were at an earlier time required to grow most of their own food (Patiño 1965:513-514). From the administrator they drew rations of salt, beef, and tools with which they worked in both the *roza* of the owner of the estate and their own gardens. They were given houses in which they located their families (Escalante 1964:129, Patiño 1965:513), and on many estates Saturdays were free from work and Sundays were a day for rest and attendance at the mass said in the estate house (Escalante 1964:130). Cooperation in the form of *la chagua* work group occurred on these estates just as in the scattered towns and hamlets of the hinterland, for the exigencies of swidden horticulture were everywhere the same.

Little historical evidence exists as to whether or not the *chagua* or cooperative work party for clearing and burning the land was adopted by Negroes and mestizos, but the probability is quite high given the following facts. First, swidden techniques were unchanged by the Spaniards over the centuries and are well suited to local ecological conditions. Second, Negroes and mestizos learned these techniques from indigenous

peoples. Third, the organization of horticultural work in the free Negro towns was similar. The males occupied themselves with defense of their stronghold and raiding, and most horticultural duties such as planting and weeding fell to the women, but clearing and burning off the land continued to be a function of the male cooperative work group (Escalante 1964:127). In mixed Indian-Negro-mestizo estates and hamlets, therefore, it is unlikely that different forms of horticultural organization were practiced, since all drew upon a single technology and learned a single complex of customs for utilizing that technology.

Cooperative work groups, then, are the distinctive form of human organization typical of the colonial, republican, and contemporary periods of coastal society. This is equally true of the extensive cattle estate and the small peasant hamlet. The small hamlets called _aldeas_ or _caserios_ contained no more than a score of families. They were scattered in between the large cattle estates of the hinterlands. They numbered about two or three every 100 kilometers in the 19th century. There were only six of these in the 1870's in the banana zone when the geographer Simmons surveyed them even though the zone covered an area of about 100 kilometers by 40 kilometers between the mountains and the swamp (Vergara y Velasca 1901:82-85). Yet, given the relatively greater rainfall and abundance of rivers in this region, as compared to other parts of Magdalena, this must be considered a particularly dense concentration of peasant families. These

families were engaged in subsistence horticulture, some sugar production, aviculture, beekeeping, cottage crafts such as cheese making, and contraband activities (Angarita 1928). The civil wars of the 19th century took a heavy toll among these towns and hamlets (Vergara y Velasca 1901: 552). When the Colombian geographer Vergara y Velasca visited the region in the late 1890's he discovered the towns to be "isolated nuclei" surrounded by expanses of territory only superficially grazed by cattle. The cattle estate dominated the landscape.

Vergara y Velasca (1901:792) described the region that was to become the banana zone as "one of the most repulsive poles of the country." The reason for such a drastic condemnation is found in the seasonal shift from drought to flood. The numerous rivers draining the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta on the western side flow into the large fresh water lagoon called Ciénaga Grande. In the lowlands these rivers become wide (some navigable as late as 1934, Rosales 1934) and the land becomes humid and swampy. In the winter rainy season the cattle and residents had to move to higher ground as the rivers rose and flooded their broad, flat valleys (Vergara y Velasca 1901:515). This ecological feature and the sparse human population prompted the negative comment of the Colombian geographer, but he predicted that the banana industry growing up at the foot of the mountains would assure the development of the region (Vergara y Velasca 1901:550).

The United Fruit Company

The prediction of Vergara y Velasca turned out to be correct. Beginning in 1896 the United Fruit Company started developing the lowlands at the foot of the Sierra Nevada. A French company began operations in the same region in 1905, but disappeared at the start of the First World War. Names such as Normandia and Alsacia are still found on plantations in this area. But it was the Compania Frutera de Sevilla, at first called the Compania Frutera de Magdalena, two local names for the United Fruit Company, which actually developed the zone (Kamalaprija 1965:7-8).

The Colombian geographer Rosales (1934:101) observed that the zona bananera was composed of a group of small towns strung along the railroad line which connected Santa Marta and the old aldea of Fundación. This railroad crossed the rivers Riofrío, Sevilla, Tucurinca, Aracataca, and Fundación which through an elaborate irrigation and drainage system built by the United Fruit Company has ceased winter flooding and now irrigated the banana plantations stretching out to the west of the towns. The railroad went no farther than Fundación until 1961, when the government extended it to the national capital in the interior (James 1969). But as early as 1868, 1871, and 1872 contracts were granted to enterprising men on the coast to complete a railroad linking Santa Marta with the Magdalena river, obviously in the hope of turning the tide of depression which had engulfed the ancient port city (Alarcón 1963:399). It was the effort of a Bogotá based

group of businessmen born in Santa Marta who formed a corporation called the _Sociedad Patriotica del Magdalena_ that actually began work on the proposed line. The group was incorporated in New York in 1881, under the name _Ferrocarril de Santa Marta_, and then work began. In 1886 the inaugural trip was made between Santa Marta and Ciénaga, and the company was sold to the English firm of Greenwood and Company. Work continued until the line reached Sevilla, and then stopped when flash floods wiped out much of the line in 1894. It remained for the United Fruit Company to finish the line between Sevilla and Fundación (Alarcón 1963:394-396, Val-Spinosa 1969:38). This was not done until the flooding was controlled by straightening the courses of rivers and installing miles of canals running between the rivers and draining the land. French, English, and United States engineers and capitalists, together with a work force recruited from all over the coast as well as numerous foreign nationals, built the irrigation network, installed bridges, completed the railroad, laid out banana plantations, built houses and work camps on the plantations and founded towns. The entire structure of life in the region was dramatically changed during the first decades of the 20th century.

Church records from 1914 to 1925 give evidence of this dramatic change. Half of the marriages performed in Orejones united persons from distant regions of Magdalena, Bolivar, Atlantico, and the Guajira. By 1938 the municipality of Orejones had sprouted a population of 15,861 persons, about

4,500 of them living in the 630 buildings of the town of Majagua (Contraloría General de la República 1941). This transformation can be appreciated when it is recalled that the hamlet of Majagua was no more than a score of people in the geographical surveys of 1874 and 1898.

The influence of the banana company upon the organization of life in the region was felt in four ways: (1) the local elite composed of original settlers, hato owners, were transformed into a wealthy elite; (2) a middle sector was created by recruitment from the cities of the coast of employees of the Company; (3) the traditional social relationships sketched earlier in this chapter among landowners, administrators and workers were altered; (4) and the nature of social relationships among laborers themselves was changed.

The landowners operating hatos quickly converted to bananas. Some of them sold their land and moved to the cities but many built fortunes selling millions of stalks of bananas to the Company. They purchased homes in the coastal cities. They sent sons and daughters to the capital, Europe, and the United States for education. They held political offices at the departmental and national levels where they continued to dominate political life just as when they were cattle barons.

The new middle sector consisted of employees of the Company: estate managers, clerks, commissary directors, secretaries, fruit selectors, and labor supervisors. These received single family dwellings with running water and indoor plumbing, furniture, mules and horses, credit for shopping

at the company store, and a monthly salary. Their sons and daughters were given scholarships to study at the Colombian universities. Their illnesses were treated in hospitals staffed by United States physicians. Several of these families built fortunes during the banana heyday.

The workers were provided with three rooms of a row house, running water and indoor plumbing, reduced rates on the train, hospital services deducted from their pay (2%), a machete, work clothes and boots, credit for shopping at the Company store, and a cash wage higher than that paid today to workers on the coast. At the exchange rate of 1.02 pesos to the dollar in 1925 (Kamalaprija 1965:127-128) the worker in the banana zone earning 2.00 pesos a day received US$2.00 (Valdeblanquez 1964:245, El Tiempo December 22, 1928, page 1). Today the worker makes 20 to 25 pesos a day which at the exchange rate of 23.00 to the dollar comes to the equivalent of US$1.05. To this picture should be added the fact that all former workers for the Company during this period report that prices for goods available in the commissaries of the United Fruit Company were cheaper than those available in the stores of the towns.

It has been seen that during earlier periods the relationship among landowners and their workers is best described by the phrase patron-client (Foster 1967:216). The landowner granted usufruct rights to several hectares to his worker for cultivation, provided living quarters on the estates, and granted credit at an estate store or commissary. The

coming of the banana industry and wage labor destroyed this relationship. Workers were paid money in return for labor rather than given usufruct right to land. The company did continue to provide both housing and credit at estate commissaries. But the subsistence horticulture tradition which was always a part of estate life disappeared.

The industrialization of agricultural production naturally included industrial forms of labor organization. The workers became quite specialized in striking contrast to their former roles as unspecialized horticulturalists or cattle ranch workers. Work groups were task rather than kin based, and highly specialized. _Cortadores_ cut the stalks of banana, _portadores_ hauled and loaded the stalks on gondolas pulled by oxen and then tractors, _tractoristas_ drove them to the station, _tanquepes_ washed, sealed and bagged the stalks, _canaleros_ controlled the water flow to the estates, and a _mandador_ directed groups of _macheteros_ in planting, cleaning, and weeding the banana plants. Among the _macheteros_ work was organized in groups not unlike the traditional form, but food and drink were not part of the work activity. Rather, work periods during the weekdays were clearly separated from leisure periods on the weekends. The Company lavishly sponsored local festivals on the weekend days, but festival events were kept distinct from work activities. Saturdays and Sundays were spent in the towns drinking, eating, playing billiards, visiting brothels, and fighting game cocks.

The banana plantations were located to the west of the

railroad, which ran north and south for 98 kilometers between Santa Marta and Fundación. Another 50 kilometers of railroad track ran off the main track to the west. The banana plantations were strung out along these spurs. On each spur were located several washing stations or espuelas. It was here that the bananas were brought, prepared, and loaded on railroad cars to be taken to the United Fruit Company docks in Santa Marta. Steamships left the port weekly for New York and Liverpool (Rosales 1934:107).

Banana production was precise and well ordered. By no means was it restricted to the United Fruit plantations. Some 30,000 hectares were under cultivation at the height of productivity, and only 10,000 of these were the property of the Company (Kamalaprija 1965:8, 12, Comisión de Planificación 1964:111). Irrigation, planting, cleaning, and weeding, and harvesting were identical on both kinds of estates. Even the custom of issuing script for credit at the estate commissary or Company store was common to each. Such uniformity was required by the nature of the product and the need to transport bananas as rapidly as possible to their market in the United States and England.

The exporter contacted the producer three days before the steamboat arrived, and the producer informed the exporter how many railroad cars he would need. The "cut day" then began, which was not a day at all but 72 hours of intensive labor on the part of all concerned. The cortador made a cut in the trunk of the banana tree so that in a short while it would incline and make the stalk easier to reach. Then the

stalk would be cut and the portador would carry it to the waiting gondola, which then delivered it to the tanquepes and fruit selectors at the espuela. Other portadors loaded the sacks containing the fruit on the railroad cars. No overtime or special payments were made to the workers for such intensive work periods. After the cut day the mandador and his macheteros cleaned off the mature trees and planted the new shoots (Kamalprija 1965:29).

Aside from the coastal subculture other subcultural groups present in the municipio during the early 20th century included Middle East immigrants who opened stores, bars, and brothels, a number of West Indian immigrants who worked as day laborers, and the North Americans living on the quinta or cluster of manor houses on the other side of the railroad tracks. A small number of highlanders from the interior migrated into the banana zone during this period, most from Antioquia.

The picture painted by Gabriel García Márquez of this period in Cien Años de Soledad is for the most part accurate, if entirely surrealistic in style and tone. Majagua was indeed transformed into a boom town. But its transformation did not correspond exactly with the picture presented in Cien Años de Soledad. The major discrepancy is with regard to the role of the elite founders of Majagua, the landed gentry who form the central characters of the novel. They were not simply awestruck bystanders to the banana boom; rather they were prime movers and beneficiaries of the boom. These elites became independent banana producers and strong allies of the

Boston based corporation. They helped lay out the plantations, planted the first bananas, founded and built small towns, and collected millions of pesos for their efforts (La Epoca 1972). Today their descendents can be located in the Parliament in Bogotá, in the departmental capital of Santa Marta, in Barcelona, Puerto Rico, Miami, and New York.

The banana strike of 1928 is one of the central events of the novel, and perhaps the most central event in the history of the banana zone. García Márquez portrays the elite of the town as merely passive bystanders during this event. But the facts reported by the newspapers of the period, historians, and by workers who participated in the strike provide a different interpretation. An event analysis, a technique developed by Kimball and Pearsall (1955), of the strike is relevant here because the strike was both a formative event and a reflection of the social structure of the banana zone.

The strike resulted in the massacre of uncounted numbers of unarmed workers the morning of December 6, 1928 by the Colombian army. The figure rose to around 1,500 during the week of terror which followed throughout the zone (Val-Spinosa 1969:4, 69). The priest of one of the banana towns recorded the following note in Book Number Three of the baptismal records of his church:

> Los asesinatos se perpetraban con regularidad increible, por lo cual los vecinos justamente alarmados y temiendos por sus vidas, vivian prevenidos contra todo individuo que no fuera costeño (Angarita 1928).
>
> Assassinations were perpetrated with incredible regularity, causing the townspeople who were justly

> alarmed and fearful for their lives, to live in complete distrust of any individual who was not of the coast.

Such a violently harsh manner of ending the strike on the part of the Colombian government was the product of several factors: the shaky Colombian economy and its huge indebtedness to the United States (Val-Spinosa 1969:10-15), the growth of the Socialist Party (founded in 1919) and the insistence by this party that the newly emerging proletariat organize (Val-Spinosa 1969:18), a move which the Minister of War interpreted as "communism" (El Tiempo December 8, 9, 10, 1928), and the attempts of the United Fruit Company to retain monopoly over all human and nonhuman resources in the banana zone (Val-Spinosa 1969:34, 38-39, 40-41).

The strike began peacefully as reported by correspondents of newspapers in Barranquilla and Santa Marta, as well as by the Governor of Santa Marta, (El Tiempo November 20, 1928, p. 2, November 21, 1928, p. 1, November 22, 1928, p. 9, December 22, 1928, p. 1). When the demands of the workers' petition were rejected by the manager of the United Fruit Company, Thomas Bradshaw, and six independent Colombian planters acting with Bradshaw, there was no violence or work stoppage. The strike was not called until November 11, the day after a large cutting order had been issued by the Company (Val-Spinosa 1969: 50-51). General Cortés Vargas was ordered to come from Barranquilla to become the military commander of the Province of Santa Marta, after telegrams were sent to the President of Colombia by Thomas Bradshaw reporting the workers to be in

"riot" (Val-Spinosa 1969:51). Cortés Vargas arrested around 400 people in the towns of the zone as he made his first tour of inspection, accusing them of attempting to impede the progress of his train, but still there was no violence (El Tiempo November 19, 1928, p. 2). The Company manager, Bradshaw, reset the cut day for December 3, and together with General Cortés Vargas arranged for 25 soldiers to guard the nonstriking workers at each espuela through the zone (Val-Spinosa 1969:59). Passports were issued by the army for travel in the zone and the train was defended with mounted machineguns (El Tiempo December 4, 1928, p. 7). A rumor which remains unconfirmed today reached the Governor of Santa Marta that a civilian had been killed at one of the espuelas in an argument with a soldier, and the Governor requested emergency help from the national government. A state of siege was declared by the President's cabinet on December 3, but it was not instituted for want of a confirmed "incident" which would justify it and which could be given wide public hearing (Val-Spinosa 1969:60). This incident came on December 5 when unarmed workers managed to entice a group of armed soldiers to a dinner and party. This was a widely broadcast as the "capture" of a squad of soldiers and a state of siege was officially declared (El Tiempo December 6, 1928, p. 1). The workers gathered at the town of Ciénaga in the railroad station for a demonstration on December 5, and early on the morning of December 6 by the light of cooking fires and lamps they were ordered to disperse. When they refused, the army fired into the crowd of 4,000 per-

sons with carbines, machineguns, and revolvers (El Tiempo December 6, 1928, p. 1, Val-Spinosa 1969:60-64, Valdeblanquez 1964:238-243). Then began the mopping up operation under the direction of General Cortés Vargas.

Although telegraph lines connected each town of the zone with Santa Marta, and Santa Marta with Barranquilla and Bogotá, and although telephones were located in United Fruit offices in all towns, and although public telephones existed in each of the larger towns of the zone, no information could be obtained by the staff reporters of El Tiempo for a week (El Tiempo December 6, 1928, p. 1, December 7, 1929, p. 1, December 8, 1928, p. 1, December 9, 1928, p. 1, December 10, 1928, p. 1). Telegrams and phone calls sent by newspapers in the capital to businessmen, landowners, and public officials in Santa Marta on the morning of December 6 were not delivered until the 21st of December. Meanwhile, the army reported one person dead and several injured in the confrontation, all of whom were alleged to be anarchists, communists, and rebels (El Tiempo December 6, 1928, p. 1, December 10, 1928, p. 1).

The series of atrocities committed by the Colombian troops are well recorded (Gaitán 1972). While Cortés Vargas remained in control of the zone until March of 1929, no Colombian and foreign correspondents were admitted, and no list of casualties was compiled (Val-Spinosa 1969:69). But various generals and colonels of the army were quite anxious to report their achievements, and their telegrams can be read in the pages of El Tiempo from December 10 until December 17, 1928. In July of 1929 a young firebrand lawyer named Jórge

Eliecer Gaitán made the banana zone massacre his vehicle to national prominence by visiting the banana zone and collecting massive documentation of the events which had occurred (El Tiempo, Lecturas Dominicales, No. 317, October 6, 1929, p. 12). These he used in a dramatic denunciation of the military and the United Fruit Company in the Parliament for four consecutive days (Gaitán 1972). His considerable talents as an orator, criminologist, and lawyer, punctuated with many letters, sworn testimonies, and even pieces of a child's skull, were devastating (Val-Spinosa 1969:80-81). The result is tersely described by Val-Spinosa (1969:82-84). The Liberal Party mounted their first successful challenge to the hegemony of the aristocratic Conservative Party with the candidacy of Enrique Olaya Herrera:

> During his whirlwind campaign for the presidency Olaya Herrera laid a wreath at the tomb of the martyred strikers at Ciénaga. Two weeks later he was elected Liberal President of Colombia (Val-Spinosa 1969:84).

Behind the chronicle of actions and reactions which can be traced through various sources there is another side to the massacre in the banana zone. This is the composition of the factions which supported or opposed the strikers, for this gave the event lasting significance.

As early as November of 1928 it was widely recognized that the chief support of the day laborers came from the merchants of the banana zone (El Tiempo, November 29, 1928, p. 16). Cash gifts, food, and clothing were donated to the strike leaders to be distributed to those whom they could recruit to

the cause. One of the strike leaders claimed to have received over 40,000 US dollars in gifts of money and materials from the independent Colombian merchants of the zone (Val-Spinosa 1969:52). Those observers who attribute the strike to the organizing activities of the strike leaders (members of the Colombian Socialist party who had previously directed the strike of oil workers in the fields of Barrancabermeja on the Magdelena river) are unable to explain why it was that the workers listened and acted as advised by the organizers. Radical activity is only rarely undertaken in the absence of some ally perceived to be powerful or influential. The merchants of Barranquilla, Ciénaga, and the banana zone recognized that the 30,000 to 40,000 residents of the banana zone were a vast market, monopolized by the United Fruit Company commissary and script system. Here the workers found natural allies. When the manager of the Company and the group of independent planters acting with him agreed to all but three of the total of nine demands presented by the strike leaders, the negotiators from the national Office of Labor discovered merchants and employees of the stores in the banana zone agitating for prolonging the strike until all the demands were met (El Tiempo November 29, 1928, p. 16). Among these demands were points six and seven: the suppression of script, and the suppression of the commissaries of the United Fruit Company accompanied by the establishment of freedom of commerce in the zone (Val-Spinosa 1969:46, Valdeblanquez 1964:245-246).

If the workers became, in part, a vehicle for the desires

of the newly arisen commercial class of the north coast, the United Fruit Company served in like manner as a vehicle for the desires of the independent planters of Colombian nationality. Val-Spinosa (1969:38) argues convincingly that the Colombian planters, who controlled and exploited the vast majority of land cultivated in bananas, were obligated to support the Company position since they were greatly indebted to the Company (owing about 4.5 million dollars in total). And as Val-Spinosa observes, Alberto Catrillon, one of the strike leaders, and Jórge Eliecer Gaitán

> . . . did not so much blame the Colombian army for firing on Colombians as for doing it at the behest of the United Fruit Company (1969:8).

Yet Val-Spinosa had missed several important points. The independent producers were quite wealthy, and that wealth came from their sales to the United Fruit Company. They were unlikely to act out of feelings of nationalistic solidarity with the workers, especially since they and their fathers and grandfathers too exploited the workers in exactly the same fashion as the Company for several preceding centuries (even if the profit margin were not as great in comparison). Secondly, the independent planters included political officials in Santa Marta who refused to do their duty to act in defense of the workers. Third, the planters uniformly abandoned the workers to their fate as the zone began filling up with troops, moving to the cities of the coast as if in expectation of the slaughter. Fourth, even to the present time the workers who witnessed these events and who were

interviewed by the writer denounce the independent planters as traitors to Colombia, for it is widely claimed that these planters hired goon squads to break up demonstrations and assassinate strikers in their homes. In short, it should not be forgotten that the millions of stalks of bananas rotting on the trees during the strike belonged mostly to Colombian growers who needed them harvested and transported to the docks before they would be paid. Until we begin to recognize that societies are made up of subcultural groups that may share little in common, aside from a symbiotic relationship, we will continually fall prey to the reasoning which concludes that all Colombians or Americans or members of some other nation-entity think and act alike.

These two opposing factions of growers and workers help explain a great deal, but there was still a third. These were the labor contractors or labor brokers through which the Company and the private producers contracted for labor. While there is no published record of the actions of these persons, former workers on the banana plantations report that they were unable to obtain work unless they joined the union. That is, the labor contractor would not include them in his work group contracted for a specific task if they remained independent or unallied. This faction by recruiting for the strike contributed to the growing atmosphere of confrontation, although the reasons for this action remain unclear.

The final faction was composed of the full-time employees

of the United Fruit Company, both Colombians and Americans. Today in the banana zone these persons uniformly condemn the strikers for chasing the Company (and their prosperity) away from Colombia. At the time of the strike their sentiments were no different, since they staged counter-demonstrations in favor of the Company in Ciénaga. Such employees of the Company were uniformly evacuated from the banana zone when the shooting started and provided with housing in Ciénaga and Santa Marta. There are no more ardent fans of the United Fruit Company in Colombia than these once prosperous families.

Although the main actors in the drama were the day laborers and the officials of the United Fruit Company, it can be seen that all who occupied positions in the structure of the banana zone had much to lose or gain depending upon the outcome. There were no innocent bystanders, as claimed by Gabriel García Márquez. It is only from the perspective of the novelist, the political scientist, and the historian that great world events can be interpreted as the results of the thoughts or actions of certain individuals acting in isolation.

Following the massacre and the week of terror the workers for the Company and the independent producers resumed work on the plantations. The crop was harvested and transported to New York and Liverpool. By the following year production had risen above pre-strike levels (Kamalaprija 1965:127-128). Production fell briefly in 1931 after the stock market crash, but resumed and achieved the high of 1930 between 1932 and 1941. Only then did production decline significantly. During

World War II the fleet of ships belonging to the United Fruit Company ceased to call at Santa Marta. When the Company returned to Colombia in 1947 in order to resume their operations they discovered that their plantations had been invaded by both the wealthy independent growers and landless day laborers.

Rather than leave Colombia the United Fruit Company negotiated a new policy with the planters through the government. Contracts were signed by which the Company considered the squatters tenants or _arrendatarios_. The tenants in turn agreed to sell and the Company agreed to buy all bananas produced, the tenants paying US $1.00 for each hectare not producing bananas. The arrangement applied basically to the wealthy squatters who annexed large tracts. The day laborers who annexed only a few hectares were ignored. By the year 1949 exports were higher than the high of 1930 (Kamalaprija 1965: 127-128).

But at this time the Company began liquidating its holdings in Colombia, including the railroad which it gave to the government upon its return in 1947. The reason lies in a changed world market, the altered situation of colonies of Western Europe, and North American activities in the Pacific (Kamalaprija 1965:8). In 1939 the Company had owned 10,000 hectares of land producing bananas, whereas by 1953 it held only 3,000. By 1964 it owned no banana producing land in the zone (Kamalaprija 1965:9).

With the exit of the Company, Colombian federations of growers sought to save the zone. But none of them located in

the municipality studied. They concentrated to the north and the banana industry of Majagua and Orejones died. Total hectares devoted to bananas today number only about 8,000, and these are located near Santa Marta. Export is mainly to the Federal Republic of Germany, and the major competitor for Colombian growers is the United Fruit Company.

In Majagua and Orejones changes occurred rapidly. The wealthy independent producers evacuated the region, together with the newly created middle sector employees of the Company and hundreds of workers. Many families of the upper and middle sectors were ruined. The workers lost an income that had provided the impetus for migration into the banana zone. In the countryside the employee housing and worker rowhouses stand empty in clusters in the middle of rice estates and cattle pastures, stripped of their plumbing, doors, windows, and roofs, concrete skeletons providing a stark reminder of earlier prosperity against which current poverty looms even more grisly.

The land use pattern and forms of human organization introduced by the company have been replaced by traditional patterns and forms. This reversion has been only partial however. For while the cattle estate has returned to its dominance of the landscape, the old form of the patron-client relationship has not been reasserted. Of 38,000 hectares of arable land in the municipality of Orejones only 13,000 are devoted to agriculture and horticulture. About 3,000 hectares are devoted to commercial rice cultivation. About 10,000 hectares are devoted to <u>pan cojer</u> or staples grown

in subsistence gardens such as corn, manioc, and plantains. The remaining 25,000 hectares are devoted to large cattle estates (Comisión de Planificación 1964:99). Thus, immediately after the exit of the United Fruit Company the large cattle estate returned to its former position of dominance in the region. But the irrigation network brought by the Company permitted the innovation of commercial rice production. The forms of social organization related to each of these land use patterns will be examined in detail in the following chapter. Here it is important to note only that the forms of social relationships introduced by the North American monopoly have persisted only on commercial rice estates. The large cattle estates continue to be organized along traditional lines, with a few elementary changes in social relationships among the personnel. Hence, the older social tradition of the *hato* and *roza* exists today side by side with a newer industrial social tradition. Both must be examined to understand contemporary community life.

The Highlander Migration

A third social tradition was introduced into the community during the decade of the 1950's. In the years that followed the banana zone strike the principal actors went on to other occupations and interests. General Cortés Vargas was promoted to Director of the National Police. The mayor of Santa Marta and a major independent banana grower, Juan Campo Serrano, became a national Senator as did members of the Noguera, Vives, and other families who were large independent banana

growers. The labor leaders, Alberto Castrillon and Raúl Eduardo Mahecha, went to jail and were later released along with 54 other prisoners convicted at the time by the military and civil Jefe of the zone. Jórge Eliecer Gaitán, the young lawyer who came to the banana zone to investigate the tragedy, went on to become the most tangible symbol of the emergence of the working classes in Colombia. In 1948 he was assassinated in the capital city. By then he had spoken to crowds of thousands, while running for the presidency, and inspired many Colombians with the sense of volcanic outrage and messianic promise with which he had stirred the Parliament of 1929 over the banana zone massacre. His violent death moved the normally inarticulate working people to a monumental expression of anger and fear, the bogotazo, or several days of rioting, burning, and looting. This was followed by several days of armed battles with the police and army tanks sent to subdue them. Stunned by such a vociferous and costly demonstration, President Gomez launched the repression of the Liberal Party which ultimately resulted in the Colombian phenomenon known as la violencia. The violencia lasted from that day in 1948 when Gaitán fell to the sidewalk until the late 1960's when the death toll declined sufficiently to call it simply murder and banditry on the part of the "revolutionaries" or over zealous army regulars. It was, in Hobsbawn's words (quoted in Dix 1967:361), the "greatest armed mobilization of peasants in the recent history of the western hemisphere, with the possible exception of some periods during the Mexican revolution."

The north coast of Colombia did not suffer directly from the _violencia_. Its greatest impact on the region was the fact that between 1950 and 1953, hundreds of families of Andean peasants migrated into the foothills of the Sierra fleeing the spreading mania in the interior.

They came from Santander, Norte de Santander, and Cundinamarca, areas ecologically quite similar to the one they colonized in Magdalena. These families directly cite _la violencia_ as their motive for moving. They brought children, aged parents, siblings, and other relatives and staked out 50 to 200 hectares of land in the low altitude river valleys at about 500 to 1,000 meters. With them came shopkeepers from small towns in the interior, buying up stores, bars, and brothels from disillusioned members of the coastal subculture. The coastal label for these migrants is _cachacos_, meaning simply a person from the interior, but it is used in a perjorative manner. The _cachacos_ have been received in by coastal people with little enthusiasm. During the banana industry days a group of highlanders from Antioquia migrated to the zone in search of work. According to coastal informants and one old _cachaco_ man these migrants had killed several coastal people in razor fights. The coastal people one night in 1914 had dispatched with machetes the majority of the immigrant group. No other _cachacos_ came to the municipality until the army in 1928. García Márquez, the Colombian novelist born in the banana zone, describes the coastal memory of the highland army:

> Then he went out into the street and saw them. There were three regiments. . . Their snorting of a many-headed dragon filled the glow of noon with a pestilential vapor. They were short, stocky, and brute-like. They perspired with the sweat of a horse and had the smell of suntanned hide and the taciturn and impenetrable perserverance of men from the uplands. Although it took them over an hour to pass by, one might have thought that they were only a few squads marching in a circle, because they were all identical, sons of the same bitch. . . (1970:280).

The highland migrants are still perceived as violent and dangerous. The basic reason the highlanders' migration of the 1950's met with success seems to be the fact that the migrants chose to colonize land high above the lowland Macondo and thus did not compete for the same jobs and women.

The highlanders were able to establish themselves in the community through the migration of highland shopkeepers to the town. The interdependent relationship among these highland peasants and shopkeepers of the community constitutes quite a distinct social tradition. This tradition and the others discussed in this chapter each have distinctive forms of social groupings by which they are set off one from another. The nature of these different social groupings, the ways in which they weave themselves into contemporary community life through systems of production, distribution and consumption, and their relation to cannabis are the subjects of the next chapter.

CHAPTER III

PRODUCTION, DISTRIBUTION, AND CONSUMPTION

The forms of group organization present in the community which are related to some aspect of the cannabis cycle are each associated with distinctive systems of production, distribution, and consumption. Each of these systems has distinctive features which enable us to treat them as separate units, but each is interdependent with other units. The forms of group organization and the social relationships associated with cannabis are best described in terms of their structures and functions in ongoing systems of production, distribution, and consumption typical of community life.

Systems of Production

The type of basic production units in Orejones can be classified by product, form of land use, and form of characteristic social groups and social relationships. There are four: (1) the estate system, (2) the INCORA (Instituto Colombiana de la Reforma Agraria) parcela or peasant cooperative, (3) the highland and coastal peasant farm or subsistence level agro-pastoral unit, and (4) the highland and coastal shopkeeper's farm or small scale pastoral unit. Each can be broken down into subtypes on the basis of subcultural variation and specific structural characteristics.

<u>Estate System: Cattle Estates</u>

More than 25,000 hectares of arable land are devoted to cattle and cattle products production (Comisión de Planificación 1964:99). The cattle estate has replaced the banana plantation as the dominant land use form since the exit of the United Fruit Company. With the completion of the bridge crossing the Magdalena River (the first on the coast) this tendency can only increase, since the major market for beef, milk, and cheese produced in Magdalena is the city of Barranquilla on the other side of the river.

The importance of the cattle estates has little direct impact on the lives of the townspeople. An analogous situation has been described elsewhere in reference to the monocrop plantations (Wagley 1968, Wolf 1959). Patiño (1970:17) sums up this situation succinctly: "*donde hay ganado no hay gente*" or where there are cattle there are no people. The reason is that the classic Spanish *hato*, discussed in Chapter II, requires few workers. One traditional operation studied involves an area of 500 hectares and some 2,000 head of cattle and requires the full-time work of the following personnel:

1 *capataz* (administrator)
8 *vaqueros* (cowboys)
7 *ordinarios* (milkers)
1 *maestra* (school teacher)

All activities involving the cattle are easily handled by 15 workers and one administrator. In addition, groups of between 10 and 15 day laborers are hired to clean irrigation ditches, to cut and burn off weeds out of the pastures, and

to germinate and hand-plant new pasture grasses. Such workers are called contratistas, since they are hired by the job, for a specific task over a specific period of time, and then released. Additional part time personnel involved include a veterinarian, employees of the Banco Ganadero or Cattle Bank which provides loans for capital investment, and service personnel such as the army and police who, through the local mayor, respond to calls for assistance from landowners when landless day laborers attempt to invade and colonize parts of the large estates.

The landowners are uniformly drawn from an urban-dwelling coastal upper sector. Many are old families on the coast with traditionally great influence over the human and nonhuman resources of the banana zone. Of these some are invaders of United Fruit Company lands during World War II, the arrendatarios discussed in the previous chapter (II) whose defunct contracts with the Company serve as title to INCORA lands today. These are most susceptible to invasion by the poor since they are technically tenants on government land and do not have titles. Other cattle ranchers are drawn from the now defunct middle sector of the banana zone heyday who made a great deal of money as Company employees.

The estate administrators are drawn from two sources: a few professionals from the Cauca Valley and the Eastern Plains (areas of extensive cattle production) who are recruited because of their expertise, and offspring of the now defunct middle sector of the banana heyday. In the case of

the latter, friendships and family ties, including filial relationships, affinal relationships, and ritual coparenthood, dating from the banana days, place the administrator and the landowner in frequent social interaction outside the context of the estate production unit.

Employees on the cattle estate are recruited from among the landless poor. While their origins are the same as those of the _contratistas_ or day laborers, discussed below, they form a group apart in that they have become specialists in cattle ranching through attaching themselves to an administrator as apprentices. The administrator recruits this group of specialists. The administrator, cowboys, and milkers are a permanent group whose members live together on the estate, drink together during work and in town, work together on a daily basis, and whose spouses and families live in close proximity most of their lives. Each family on the estate cultivates its own kitchen garden.

The _contratista_ is a member of the landless poor of the town as well. He is an unspecialized manual laborer. In the countryside he works in agricultural tasks. In the city, to which he is a frequent migrant and return migrant, he works in all manner of unskilled manual tasks. He is recruited by a figure whose special role and importance to the functioning of the estate demands brief elaboration. This figure will be called a "labor broker." He is always an older manual laborer, generally between 40 and 50 years of age, who has been a day laborer all of his life. He is the

one upon whom the administrator of an estate depends for recruiting a group of workers necessary for a particular task. The labor broker and his _contratistas_ constitute a distinct group on the estate. They live in the town, commute to the estates together, work together, smoke cannabis together, drink alcohol together, stand as godparents to each other's children, and exchange invitations for visits. The worker depends upon the labor broker for a guarantee of work opportunities. The workers call such a man "_el hombre que indica_" the man who directs. Clearly he is a critical figure in their lives.

The traditional yearly cycle on the cattle estate which articulates these kinds of personnel is structured by the ecological circumstances of the coast. During the summer from November to March the land lies parched and brown under the searing Caribbean sun. The rains come in April and the grass seeds which have lain dormant since November sprout. When the grass is about two feet in height around 100 cattle are put in a _potrero_, or cattle pasture, of 300 hectares. Most cattle operations have a high ratio of land to cattle; the average for the municipality as a whole is about three hectares per head of cattle (Comisión de Planificación 1964:99). In July, when the grass seeds once again, the cattle are briefly taken out of the _potrero_ until the new shoots mature and then are put back in again. In November when the grass seeds again the cattle are removed, but now they are placed back in the pasture as soon as the seeds fall. The seed lies

dormant during the dry summer, and the cattle feed off the parched stubble which remains.

Traditional estates which have plenty of _bufel_ grass, a drought resistant variety, do not suffer large losses over the summer. But those with _pará_ or _guinea_ may suffer up to a 40% loss among their calves and yearling, according to the veterinarians and administrators interviewed. In these conditions Patiño's (1970:266-269) characterization of the cattle industry in Colombia as belonging to two distinct periods, pre-_Cebú_ and post-_Cebú_, the strain of hearty drought resistant Indian cattle introduced at the beginning of this century, is understandable.

The daily cycle of the cowboys and milkers on the estate mainly involves separating out the cows with calves and attending to the daily milking. During the rainy season from four to six liters of milk will be taken from a cow. Of this a liter is given each employee for his family's consumption. During the dry season less milk is taken for human consumption and more is left for the calf. Yearlings, bulls, and heifers without calves are placed in other areas and for the most part given minimal attention. In October castration of the yearlings and branding for all calves takes place in an operation of several days length. Employees have a large amount of time free for cultivation of their kitchen gardens and entreprenurial activities.

A central activity of the administrator and employees is protection of the estate lands, inspecting to make sure

squatters do not attempt an invasion. A month does not go by in Orejones when there is no attempt to invade portions of some large estate by a group of landless poor. Estate administrators and employees are generally armed with pistols and attempt to discourage colonos. When this does not work, the administrator calls for the intervention of the police or army by petitioning the mayor of the town. The police or army personnel burn down the mejoras or make-shift houses and cultigens put in by the squatters and run them off or arrest them, depending upon their tenacity.

The more modern cattle estates are less subject to such invasions. The modern system demands that pastures be irrigated in order for the cattle to be rotated through a series of small potreros. The single large pasture of 300 hectares of the traditional system may be broken into 30 small sections of 10 hectares, for example. Some 30 head of cattle are grazed intensively each section. Every two weeks the cattle are moved to a new 10 hectare section. In this manner the animals always have fresh pasture. Irrigation makes possible the use of cultivated pastures such as anglinton, guinea, bangola, and pará, the first two of which are considered the best grass for beef and milch cows. The threat of loss through starvation over the summer is reduced. This is a fact appreciated by all cattle estate owners. But to date few landowners have taken advantage of the potential benefits of the modern system. The few who have have seen a measurable increase in productivity. Under the old system, some six

years were needed for maturation, and cattle marketed in Barranquilla weighed about 500 kilos. The modern system requires only three to four years to produce an animal weighing 450 kilos.

With these results widely broadcast in the municipality by the veterinarian and the administrators, one wonders why more landowners do not change to the modern system. The answer lies in the increased labor costs which accompany the rotation system, and this dilemma illustrates the relationship between the employees, administrators, and day laborers on the two kinds of cattle estates. Manual work in the form of cleaning pasture of weeds, preparing pasture for planting, cultivating pasture grasses, and cleaning the irrigation canals is doubled in the more modern system. Of course frequent transfer of cattle from one pasture to another also demands increased labor. So both a greater number of employees and a greater number of day laborers are needed for the modern cattle estate.

Given the nature of patron-client relationships among landowners and their workers, the expansion of the number of employees is possible. What the landowner has most of is land. He can easily hire more permanent employees and lend several more hectares to be planted in kitchen crops. The cash wages paid full-time employees are small: an _ordinario_ or milker makes only seven pesos a day and cowboys receive only 10 to 15 pesos a day. But they also receive housing and usufruct rights to a garden plot as well as credit at the

estate store, which is usually run by the estate administrator at a personal profit. Thus, the increased costs of moving cattle, branding, castration, vaccination, and the activities of the employees are not prohibitive.

What is more difficult is to increase reliance on contratistas. In the traditional system such reliance is minimal in that irrigation is not a feature of traditional cattle estates. At the most, groups of contratistas are employed to weed pastures. But in the modern system the maintenance of pastures and the irrigation system demands more extensive use of wage laborers. On an extensive operation this could mean the full-time use of 20 contratistas. Clearly this amounts to a considerable increase in the cash investment needed as compared to the traditional system. On some intensive estates studied a second administrator is hired to direct the maintenance operations involving the pasture and irrigation. He is called a mandador, and his presence indicates the significance the day laborers assume in the modern system.

As one veterinarian pointed out, the cattle estate has not traditionally been a large capital investment for the landowner. In fact, it is generally treated as a source of reserve capital to finance other operations. Cattle are sold as the need for capital arises in the city. This would explain the seeming lack of interest estate owners have in their operations: vists of four to five times a year are the norm for the owner.

This contrast between the traditional and modern cattle

estate dramatizes the nature of wage labor in the Magdalena region. Work opportunities are scarce since the exit of the United Fruit Company. Consequently wage levels are low, and the labor market is flooded. Day laborers are uniformly paid between 20 and 25 pesos for a full day's work in the fields. They are paid by an estate administrator for their work, but are recruited through the labor broker who in turn makes contracts with the administrator. This can be a relatively inefficient operation in that several days may be needed to secure the number of workers needed. This seems paradoxical until it is recognized that labor contractors make contracts throughout the region, and their crews may be engaged when called upon by the estate administrator. For the administrator to seek labor directly is a time consuming activity. Administrators prefer to deal with the labor broker in the stores, bars, and cockring of the town. The situation of scarce work opportunities and low wages, the constant threat of starvation during the summer drought season, and the measurable benefits of the modern estate system are each factors which would seem to guarantee the transition to the modern system. The reasons why such a transition is unattractive to the personnel of the cattle estate can best be illustrated by an example.

Don Ramón is the owner of a large traditional cattle estate. He is selling his estate and going to work for a corporation marketing Italian pharmaceuticals in Colombia. He explains that for several years he has not been able to make a go of his cattle operation. His land is only partly

irrigated, and summer losses have been particularly bad since the coast has been gripped in the worst summer drought in a century. When asked why he must sell he explains that the problem lies with the day laborers. This, he states, is the fault of the United Fruit Company. The Company came to Colombia and paid the workers a cash wage for each job performed on the banana plantations. The workers were spoiled by this, since the wages were good, and now they want cash. "Good workers" can no longer be found. Don Ramón cites José Mejía as an example of a "good worker" who also happens to be a client and _compadre_ of his. Don Ramón gives to José land to farm, housing, and credit all of which Don Ramón has plenty. José lives on the estate and is always available when a task needs to be performed. Keeping such workers available by paying them cash Don Ramón perceives to be prohibitive.

José Mejía views the relationship as beneficial as well. It is formalized through _compadrazgo_ ties. He receives credit at the stores in town, a plot of two hectares to plant, 10 pesos a day and small gifts of alcohol, food, and clothing from his _patrón_. He also has a limited degree of insurance against hunger during times of illness or life crisis events since Don Ramón will advance him small loans. Don Ramón requires him to direct the daily milking of the cows, transport the milk to town to be marketed, repair fences and gate damage, and assist in chasing off squatters when they appear. The rest of the time José can work for himself. Skills he

may have in animal husbandry, horse trading, agriculture, cottage crafts, etc. can be used to increase his personal income. And such free time is not rare among estate employees and administrators on traditional estates. It is from this group that the thriving bar business in town, the cock fighting circuit, and the numerous brothels are kept in operation. Each of these arenas is the scene of small scale entreprenurial efforts on the part of persons who have skills to market. Day laborers of course have no time for such activities and rarely have enough money left from their small cash wage to invest.

José is a consummate horse and mule trader. His arena of negotiation is composed of several bars and pool halls in town where he buys, trades, and sells animals. His reputation extends up into the Sierra and to neighboring towns, and peasants frequently are found drinking in the bars with José discussing the probability of finding a good mule for 6,000 pesos.

Lucho is another example. He is an employee of the estate owner Ramiro Bedoya who lives in Santa Marta. His reputation as a _gallero_ or expert on the raising and training of fighting cocks extends to the cities of Barranquilla, Santa Marta, Ciénaga, and the several small towns on the circuit. Each weekend Lucho can be found on one of the local buses traveling to a cock fight, two or three of his cocks slung in shoulder bags or carried in his hands. At a given fight he may enter only one of his cocks and sell

others he has brought for 600 to 1,000 pesos. Lucho has spent years developing such a reputation and his cocks are known to be well selected and trained. Fellow estate employees as well as landowners who fight cocks are eager to purchase one of his birds including the man for whom he works.

Both patrón and cliente value such a relationship as that of Don Ramón and José Mejía. The labor broker who supplies José with crews of day laborers also values this traditional manner of recruiting and organizing personnel on the estate. Since it is the labor broker who provides work opportunities for his fellows he is placed in a position of power and influence. He also drifts through the stores and bars of the town in order to keep abreast of changing work opportunities and lubricate the social relationships upon which his position depends. He does not have the money to raise fighting cocks or purchase mules or horses, but he nonetheless will be present at the cock fights and in the bars. He will drink in the stores, bars, and cockring with the estate employees and managers making commitments as needed to his patrones.

In contrast, the intensive modern cattle operation requires the use of more personnel. More permanent employees are needed to handle increased cattle care activities. More day laborers are needed for the maintenance of pasture and irrigation systems. Contracts can no longer be made on a day to day basis with the labor broker; the crews of day laborers must become full-time workers. The administrator

and landowner must devote increased energies to organizing work activity, record keeping, and making sure days paid are days devoted to work. Less time is available to all personnel for entreprenurial activities. For these reasons, over and above the increased cash investment, the transition to the more modern cattle estate system is not widespread.

Estate System: Rice Estate

Rice estates are more important to the life of Macondo than the large cattle estates since they require the labor of more people who reside in the town. Many owners of rice estates are former banana growers, like cattle estate owners. And many are tenants on INCORA land and, thus, like their cattle estate counterparts quite vulnerable to invasions by squatters. A solution to this dilemma that is both economically feasible and politically wise is rice agriculture. Much like the "Sugar Plan" of the Cauca Valley cattle ranchers (Blasier 1966), rice agriculture can stave off the pressure for partitioning the large estates into smaller peasant holdings. Cattle are less risky economically, but rice brings a higher return on one's investment and relief from the pressure of colonists.

The rice estate is also administered by an administrator, but the rice estate owner is more likely to take an active part in the day to day operation of the estate. Frequently the estate owner resides in the town or rural areas of the municipality. The capataz is more a chief of employees rather than administrator of the entire operation. Extra-

ordinary care must be taken to assure that the water supply is adequate and delivered to the fields efficiently. Weed control is an important and recurring problem. And since all rice estates in the lowlands are mechanized the capital required for modern machinery encourages the owner of these to oversee personally his investment. Therefore, it is not unusual to encounter the owner of a rice estate taking an active part in productive activity in both town and countryside.

The administrator and the estate employees, unlike workers on cattle estates, are both drawn from the old upper sector and now defunct middle sector of the banana industry days. They and the landowner form a single interaction unit linked by ties of ritual, affinal, and filial kinship ties. The administrator, employees, and owner of the rice estate may all be found drinking together in the bars and on the estate, betting at cock fights together, and exchanging visits to each other's homes. Few personnel live on the rice estate. A night watchman is hired to protect the land from invasion. The watchman, administrator, employees and owner are all armed so as to discourage squatters.

The employees operate all of the machinery needed in the day to day operation of the estate: tractors plow, harrow, and plant, harvesters reap and bag the crop, and trucks carry the sacks to the market. Employees are usually sent by landowners to the cities of the coast for training courses given by retail firms in the correct operation, maintenance, and repair of the equipment. The landowner's

investment in the training of young men from a compadre's family or the training of a nephew is not entirely a matter of economics. It is also an expression of the particular world view and concomittant notions of group solidarity typical of the upper sector of the town from which owner, administrator, and employee come.

The mechanization of rice agriculture in the former banana zone introduces certain organizational features which directly affect the crop cycle. The harvester is an expensive piece of farm equipment which not all rice producers can afford to purchase. Those who can rent their machines to the less affluent producers, but in order to make machines available when the crop is ripe the planting and harvesting must be precisely scheduled and coordinated. This is accomplished by the owners of harvesters who specify to their clients when the harvester will be in their locale and the dates when the machine will be available for rent. The production of rice, therefore, is scheduled so that the crops ripen in succession over a three month period. This seems to occur from south to north in the banana zone. Rice is planted from January through March across the zone. This is called the primér semestre, first semester, and runs until the crops are ripe in June, July, and August when harvesters comb the land. Rice is planted again between July and September. This begins the segundo semestre, a time period that runs until the harvest in November, December, and January. (See Figure 6).

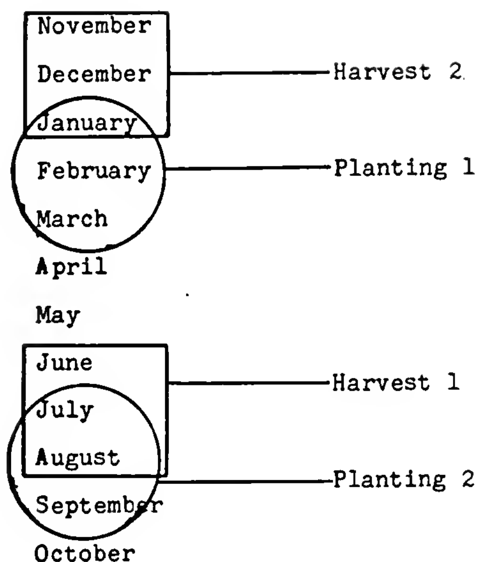

FIGURE 6

Production Schedule of the Rice Estate

Machines such as tractors are present on most estates and are operated by employees of that estate. But harvesters are operated by an employee of the owner of the machine. Both machine and operator are rented, so that certain employees of the banana zone travel its length and breadth specializing in harvest activity during June, July, and August and again during November, December, and January. During other periods they are engaged in fumigation for weeds, water control, and other activities on their home estates.

A rice operation of 100 hectares will require the manual labor of about 10 to 15 _contratistas_ or day laborers working with machetes and shovels to clean irrigation canals, dig ditches for bringing water from the canals to the crop, and adjust ditches until the flow of water is adequate. This activity lasts for a period of from three to four weeks during planting. Five months later the day laborers will again be needed, but now only about four, for picking up the sacks of rice discharged by the rice harvester and loading them on the trucks. This task lasts only a week to 10 days.

Day laborers are recruited for these activities by a labor broker, the _hombre que indica_, who also recruits for work of a similar character on the cattle estates. The estate administrator will schedule his contracts with the labor brokers so as to have 10 to 15 workers ready to build and adjust the irrigation ditches for the planted crop. This is a particularly precise operation, since the rain

may cause the rice seeds to sprout, and the seed may be lost if water is not brought to the field at the correct time. Moreover, precision is necessary if the producer is to meet his schedule set by the availability of the harvester. A labor broker remains useful to the administrator only if he can guarantee the requisite number of workers on the dates needed. For whatever precision his operation is able to attain, the estate administrator looks to the *hombre que indica*.

Wage laborers are paid 20 to 25 pesos a day though only when there is work. Perhaps the most concrete expression of this problem is the use of children and women of the household of the day laborer as gleaners. Whatever rice they find in the harvested fields they are permitted to keep.

The months of September, October, November, and December are difficult times for most day laborers of the community. During the long dry summer the workers may search the length and breadth of the zone and find little work. The period of March to June offers a few more work opportunities. These are the times when there is no work on the rice estates, during the harvest or during the growing period. From March to June some day laborers are fortunate enough to find work on the cattle estate planting pasture grass, cleaning and burning off weeds from fields, or cleaning an irrigation network, for this is the beginning of the rainy season and the planting season on cattle estates. Other laborers may pick up seasonal work at the *Planta Desmotadora* or cotton gin operated by the government body called the Instituto de

Mercadeo Agropecuario (IDEMA). The cotton gin, built in Birmingham, Alabama, operates during the months of January, February, and March and processes tons of cotton from the southern side of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta. No cotton is produced in Orejones. It is sent to Orejones in large trucks from Codazzi, Copey, and Valledupar to be processed in the local plant.

Few work opportunities exist from September to December. During this period the lucky day laborer will obtain work of a nonessential character on some estates, such as clearing and burning brush from the side of a road, clearing and burning off weeds from an area not under cultivation, or painting, mending, and a host of other odd jobs. Of course the fortunate day laborers are generally the older labor brokers. A number of cases were observed in which estate managers provided "busy" work for their labor contractors over these summer months. Once, when the question was put to an estate administrator as to why a group of two laborers were being paid to clear and burn brush from the side of a paved public road, an operation generally left to the government Departamento de Obras Publicas if it is done at all, the administrator replied that "it looks better to me." A month later the same two workers were cleaning the administrator's small garden, a task easily performed in a few days by the administrator himself since less than a hectare was planted in table crops. But these workers spent two weeks in the patch and were paid a full day's wage of 25 pesos for each

of 14 days. The laborers were labor brokers for this administrator and were given work in order to continue the patron-client relationship through the dry spell from September to December. In another case the administrator of an estate simply made a gift of several sacks of corn to his labor broker in order to preserve their relationship.

For many day laborers the long summer is a time for making charcoal. There are no specialists in charcoal making in the municipality. Various day laborers and peasants engage in this activity when they have no other means of getting money. For making charcoal is an arduous task and the return on one's labor investment is small. Wood must be cut for several weeks, then it must be dried for several more. It must be stacked in a huge bonfire and covered with a layer of clay, then ignited with a long torch poked in through an opening. The dirt covering must be adjusted and watched to make sure the vegetable matter is not entirely consumed by the flame. This involves several more days of work. Then the fire must be extinguished, the charcoal dried, the sacks stuffed with charcoal, and the sacks loaded on a burro and sold door to door in town. A month of labor may produce five sacks of charcoal. These bring 25 pesos each in the town, or the equivalent of five days of work during the work season on the estates. No one likes to make charcoal, and no one can live on the proceeds earned.

The social relationships which mediate rice agriculture have been implied in the discussion above. The landowner

stands in a relationship of patron to client with his full-time employees. But on the rice estate this does not include some traditional elements of the patron-client relationship, namely, usufruct right to land for planting and housing on the estate. Employees reside in the town. The patron provides credit references, including his signature as _fiador_ or cosigner of an account, for his administrator and employees. After several months the employee will be granted his own credit if he demonstrates the ability to make regular payments. In addition the employer provides training in farm machinery operation. And a cash wage of 25 pesos is paid the client. While this is not more than the wage paid a day laborer, the employee enjoys steady employment, credit, and the status of a _maquinista_ or technician. Some are able to specialize in machine repair and set up a garage in one of the lowland towns. Finally, filial, affinal, and ritual kinship ties unite the landowner, administrator, and employees.

The day laborer stands in a relationship of client to patron with the labor broker. Neither have a formal position in the estate system, but both are essential to agricultural activity on the estate. Security in job placement lies in the maintenance of ties which unite the labor broker and the day laborer, for each is dependent upon the other. Cannabis smoking, tobacco smoking, and alcohol drinking each play important roles in the maintenance of this relationship, as well as in the replication of the labor units or work crews upon which the estate depends.

A number of service relationships are maintained by the

landowner and estate administrator. These are interface relationships between the production unit and service units. One service unit is INCORA which provides the water used in rice cultivation. A fee of 58 pesos per hectare must be paid INCORA for rights of access to water, whether or not the canal passing through the estate is used. Depending upon the crop a fee must be paid for cubic meters of water diverted into the fields. Sluice gates are set in positions regulated by INCORA employees and these are padlocked. The rate for bananas, for example, is only 0.05 centavos per cubic meter. The government thus promotes the rehabilitation of the banana zone by making water cheap to banana producers, while ignoring the fact that the losses suffered currently are due to the world market and not the Colombian producer. All other crops are charged 0.94 centavos per cubic meter. The estate administrator or owner must sit down with an INCORA employee before the planting begins and agree upon the amount of water to be used and the dates when sluice gates must be opened and closed. Then he pays his fees or a 2% interest charge for the credit granted.

The rice cooperative or Cooperativa Arrocera provides credit, seed, and a market for the large and small producer of rice. The trucks used to transport rice are rarely owned by estate owners, and they are usually rented from certain coastal shopkeepers and landowners in the town, just as rice harvesters are rented. Crop duster airplanes are available for a fee in nearby Fundación. Each of these

interface relationships must be precisely scheduled so that producers have them available at the time when they are needed. In contrast to cattle production, rice production is a precise activity.

INCORA parcelas

The peasant cooperative agricultural unit created by INCORA is a second unit of production. The land ceded and sold to the Colombian government by the United Fruit Company in the 1960's is today administered by INCORA. All the land is occupied by three classes of tenants: (1) those tenants who invaded large tracts of land belonging to the United Fruit Company in the 1940's, signed contracts to grow bananas for sale to the Company, and currently hold these same contracts which INCORA honors as usufruct right to the lands invaded, (2) those tenants who invaded small parcels of land of the United Fruit Company in the 1940's, built houses and planted subsistence crops, and today continue occupancy because they have been granted title to the land by INCORA, and (3) those tenants who invaded small parcels of land of the United Fruit Company in the 1940's, built homes and planted crops, and today continue occupancy without title at the grace of INCORA. As the town notary put it, the tenants have occupied the land longer than INCORA has existed, so the land is rightly theirs to use.

The tenant of the first category is generally enaged in cattle and rice production as discussed previously. The second and third categories are subsistence farmers, or

coastal peasants. These will be discussed in the following section. Title to INCORA land is granted only to the small parcel tenants, those who possess less than one to perhaps five or six hectares. Squatters of category (1) are not given title to their lands, but are allowed to make them produce. This right is really an obligation, given the pressures on land which exist in the municipality.

The INCORA _parcela_ or peasant cooperative is a fourth category which must be taken up apart from those listed above. The cooperative uniformly results from the invasion and colonization of large estates belonging to tenants of category (1). Several examples of the process by which this occurs were witnessed during the period of study. The squatters or _colonos_ are uniformly landless day laborers residing in the municipality. The tactic for such an invasion is as follows.

First, a group of day laborers decide among themselves that the squatting on a portion of an estate is politically feasible. By this is meant that the current tenant is either not exploiting a portion of the estate or is exploiting it inefficiently (e.g. grazing one head of cattle per five or six hectares). Day laborers feel they have a better chance for success under such conditions since the Agrarian Reform Law of 1961, as amended in 1968, (INCORA 1968, 1969, 1972), states that land unexploited or inefficiently exploited shall be expropriated and partitioned among the landless. Of course such an expropriation has never occurred, and few expect it to occur in the future. Thus, workers attempt to

discover where their efforts to colonize are most likely to succeed, and this is uniformly on INCORA land exploited inefficiently (from the invader's viewpoint). Invasions of privately owned estates do occur but have resulted in deaths on both sides in the past. Recent invasions of private estates date from six and seven years ago and are still in litigation.

Second, the day laborers choose a night for the invasion and assemble materials for house construction and manioc, corn, and plantain seed. Night arrives and they invade the estate, clear the brush away, hastily put up makeshift huts, and quickly plant a few cultigens.

Third, morning arrives, the squatters are discovered, and the mayor of the town is contacted for help. The mayor sends the police if the contingent of invaders is small or calls Santa Marta for the army if the contingent is large. Groups of squatters who invaded lands between August of 1972 and November of 1973 ranged from two to 50 families. In all instances the police or army initially drove off the squatters, burned their houses, destroyed their cultigens, and arrested those who refused to be ejected.

Fourth, having just failed, the squatters mount a second attempt and repeat the second step on the same estate. The current tenant then repeats the third step. This continues until either the invaders or the current tenant give up, while each time tempers flare hotter and threaten open violence, leading to the fifth and sixth steps.

Fifth, the _colonos_ give up their plan and content themselves with no land or make plans for the invasion of another

estate.

Sixth, the current tenant gives up defense of his usufruct right and sells the mejoras or improvements he had made on the land since his own invasion several decades back (i.e. fences, gates, houses, stock pens, irrigation ditches, bridges, roads, etc.) to INCORA. INCORA buys these and notifies the colonists that it will form a parcela or cooperative of the lands given up by the tenant. Lawyers for INCORA then consult lengthy lists of applicants for land (lists solicited in preparation in the event that any lands will ever be expropriated and partitioned in accordance with the law). From these lists names are drawn to supplement the parcela.

The parcela is envisioned by INCORA to be a parcel of land that is large enough to be farmed economically with the benefits of modern farm technology (machinery), yet owned and operated by the poor of the society who formerly had no land. The cooperative is the result. According to INCORA lawyers and parcela members interviewed, INCORA has three categories for choosing members of the cooperative: (1) workers on the land disemployed by the invasion, (2) the invaders, and (3) those persons on the waiting list for the partitioning of the large estates.

In a carefully studied case, four day laborers invaded a cattle estate occupied by a tenant living in Santa Marta. These four then weathered out the pressure to abandon their claim, and the tenant eventually backed off and transfered his cattle to another of his estates. INCORA divided this

land into two parts, giving 82 hectares to the formation of a cooperative including the four invaders. The workers displaced by the invasion (estate employees) numbered eight and these were added to the four colonos to bring the full complement of the cooperative to 12 families. No families on the list were chosen.

The cooperative members are given some time to choose a crop they wish to cultivate. In the example cited above, the 12 family heads decided upon rice after some debate between rice and cattle. INCORA then loaned them the use of a bulldozer for clearing trees, bush, and leveling the ground. A tractor was also loaned for plowing, harrowing, and planting. Water was loaned at the standard 2% interest rate. And rice seed was loaned by the Cooperative Arrocera with INCORA signing the note. The cooperative has 15 years to pay off INCORA for the land. The land is not a gift. The first three years no interest is paid and no payment is required on the principal. Beginning with the fourth year payments must begin as well as payments for the water, machinery rental, and seed and fertilizer used.

The personnel of the cooperative, therefore, are uniformly landless day laborers and estate employees who for the first time have their own land. Significantly, invasions take place only on cattle estates and not on rice estates. The reason probably does not lie in greater efficiency of the rice estates but in the composition of the employee and administrator staff of the rice estates. It will be recalled

that such employees are related affinally, filially, and ritually to landowners. Their cooperation in the invasion and cooperative formation is not expected. Day laborers therefore seek allies among the nonkin employees of the cattle estate.

Upon close examination one finds that the position of the _hombre que indica_ or labor broker persists into the structure of the cooperative. This man is an older day laborer who traditionally directs the labor of his fellows on the estates, coordinates work schedules, and recruits workers to work crews. On the cooperative it is he who negotiates the interface relationships with INCORA, the rice cooperative, the seed, fertilizer, and weed control salesmen, and the buyer. When the bulldozer rolls onto the property it is he who tells the operator where to plow up trees and where to level the ground.

Typically the cooperative operates at less than full strength. In the example discussed above, 12 families started out in February of 1972. By September of 1972 one of the household heads had already returned to work for the former tenant of this land on another of his estates. When questioned the household head explained that one rice crop had been grown and harvested, and he now knew that he could do better as the administrator of a cattle estate given the fringe benefits of the patron-client relationship. Of five _parcelas_ studied, none operated at their full complement of families. Internal fighting, the attraction of external

opportunities like the one mentioned above, and crop failures have caused some to drop out of the venture. In the two oldest parcelas (established in 1970) the following pattern appears. A number of related families are found to be members of the cooperative, yet INCORA lawyers specify that related families are not a criterion of cooperative formation. As families drop out of the venture they are replaced by families related to the original members. These are recruited rapidly by member families and suggested to INCORA as good replacements with whom all can get along. The cooperatives appear to be headed in the direction of kin-based units of production.

To digress a moment, it should be noted that the parcela of INCORA is a controversial innovation which many argue is not the proper response to the crisis of land and work in the municipality. The current president of the Colombian Senate, Hugo Escobar Sierra, a politician from a wealthy coastal family with strong ties to Majagua, has condemned INCORA for its activities and called for the abolition of INCORA and the repeal of the Agrarian Reform Law of 1961 (Escobar Sierra 1972). But at present the peasant cooperative, the conflicts which produce it, and the tensions which result, are characteristic of this community.

Peasant farms: Highlanders

The cachacos or highlanders who migrated to the municipality in the 1950's brought with them a distinctive production system. This is the highland farm. The vast majority

of highlanders in the community are Andean peasants, similar in many ways to those described by Fals Borda (1955) in his classic work on Colombian Andean peasant society. But that description will not serve the present analysis since many features of highland peasant life in a coastal community are different from those encountered in the interior.

The highland subculture in the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta is characterized by farms located in a vereda or rural neighbornood. The vereda is an ethnocentric, politically cohesive, homogeneous unit (Fals Borda's 1955 definition applies equally well here as it did to peasants in Boyacá). The extended families of the vereda are related by affinal and filial kinship ties, ties of ritual coparenthood, and ties of common origin in Santander, Norte de Santander, and Cundinamarca. The production unit which exploits the land is composed of male members of the extended household: a man, his oldest sons, sons-in-law, and any other adult males present. In no cases do males of different families work together cooperatively, except for hunting ñeke, guartinaja, and other wild animals for their meat. Wage labor is absent from the highlands with the exception of the police commissioner who is recruited from among the peasants and paid 400 pesos a month.

The highland farm is an agro-pastoral unit. The male kinsmen grow primarily subsistence crops, secondarily cash crops for the lowland town market, and thirdly raise cattle on a sharecropping basis for lowland dwelling cachaco store-

keepers. The yearly horticultural cycle begins during the months of January, February, and March. The household head and his male relatives cut with axes and machetes the brush and trees on the site of the <u>roza</u> or mixed garden plot for that year. The hot sun of this period dries out the vegetation and it is burned off during February or March. In the classic swidden pattern (Conklin 1954, Carter 1968) the large stumps and logs are left where they fall, and the smaller trees and brush are consumed by the fire. The garden plot is always located on the hillsides and the relatively level bottom land of the valleys is devoted to pasture grass and grazing animals. The first crop is planted in April when the rains commence.

Included in the mixed garden are <u>yuca</u> or sweet manioc and maize, the staple crops consumed by the highlanders. In addition kidney beans, black-eyed peas, coffee, rice, sugar cane, and cannabis may be included in any given year. Each of these is a cash crop specialty of certain peasant households of the highlands. Many peasants plant four hectares of corn and two to three of sweet manioc. About two hectares of corn and two of manioc are generally consumed by a household of 10 persons over the year. The remainder is marketed as a cash crop. Beans are generally planted in amounts of three to four hectares, sugar cane in amounts of two to three hectares, rice in amounts of four to six hectares, and coffee in amounts of four to six hectares. Certain peasants specialize in one or several of these, but rarely does a

peasant grow all of them. Those who specialize in cannabis, which is a cash crop like the others, plant from one to 10 hectares at the same time as the staple crops and other cash crops are planted.

The bulk of labor expended on the highland farm is directed to two processes: (1) clearing and burning off the land, and (2) weeding the mixed garden periodically. The latter involves bending from the waist and running the machete across the surface of the ground, thereby cutting weeds off at ground-level. Both tasks are difficult in the extreme, and weeding must be repeated three times during the growing season for corn, manioc, beans, peas, and cannabis for the land is covered with scrub rather than forest. Coffee, rice, and sugar cane are often weeded only once. Clearing, burning, and weeding are the work of adult men and late adolescent aged sons.

Harvest of the first crop begins in August and is completed by September. Corn and manioc to be consumed by the household are generally left on the stalk or in the ground until harvest of the cash crop is completed. Seed corn is selected immediately. But that to be consumed is stored in the field until it can be stored in the houses. Manioc is left in the ground until used as food or seed. The crops harvested first are those that are to be marketed.

Before harvest begins, however, the second planting takes place in July. This occurs after the final weeding of the first crop has been completed. Second planting is

generally much smaller than the first and often confined to corn, manioc, and beans. The latter ripen fast and can be sold for much needed cash just before the dry summer begins, and corn and manioc are always needed. But many highlanders do not plant a second crop claiming they too frequently lose much of it to an early summer. The harvest of the second crop takes place in November when the summer has already begun in earnest.

Animals raised on the highland farm include cattle, horses, mules, chickens, pigs, turkeys, and the ubiquitous beast of burden the burro. In addition to the essential milk cow only chickens and turkeys are raised specifically for household consumption. Pigs are raised to be sold in the lowlands. Only when they are in danger of dying or when they are needed for ceremonial events (e.g. a wake) are pigs butchered and eaten. Horses are a luxury highly valued by the highland peasant, and any prosperous adult male tries to obtain at least one. Mules are considered important and more practical beasts of burden in the mountains, but are expensive. The burro in fact serves most frequently as a pack animal. Cattle production is governed by an entirely different set of arrangements.

The highland peasant household heads stand in relationships of client to patron with the _cachaco_ shopkeepers of the lowland town of Majagua. It will be recalled from Chapter II that highland storekeepers from interior towns migrated into the community at about the same time as the highland peasants

colonized the Sierra. The shopkeeper grants to his clients credit at his store and contracts for grazing cattle on the highland farm. The contracts for cattle grazing are on the sharecropping model. Yearlings purchased by the shopkeeper at 1,000 to 1,500 pesos each are transported to the client's farm where they are fattened for a period of three to four years. At that time they are sold for perhaps 4,000 pesos each. Of this the shopkeeper takes three-quarters as his share and the highland peasant receives one-quarter. Heifers are sold to peasants as milch cows and are incorporated into the shopkeeper's lowland farms to be utilized for milk production. Steers are sold in the town market for local consumption.

Important social relationships among highland peasant households are most clearly visible during the dry summer season. The months of November to March are the hardest time for the highlander. Planting loans are sought from the _Caja Agraria_, or Agrarian Bank, in March, and then the long dependence upon corn and manioc may come to an end. For purchases can again supplement this basic diet. But from November until the planting season and receipt of the loan, items such as sugar, coffee, cooking oil, kerosene, and other processed foods must be obtained on credit. Or these items can be exchanged among related peasant households.

Domesticated animals are converted into cash at this time to meet purchase needs. Meat is generally scarce in the highland household, but during the summer it is absent. It is then that the nonkin cooperative hunting of wild

meat is undertaken. If a steer or pig becomes sick and thin over the summer and cannot be sold, then it may be butchered for household consumption. The meat is divided carefully among related families, so carefully that a scale is used to weigh sections "given" to affinal and filial kin. Repayment of such gifts is obligatory when the recipient next butchers an animal.

Dry summer or wet winter, a large flatbed truck with wooden slat sides owned by a highland shopkeeper of the town crawls up the torturous road each morning at 7:00. The single road which it travels is the lifeline of these peasants. It arrives at a store in the highlands at about 10:30 a.m. There the produce of the peasants is loaded onto the truck and transported to market for a small fee additional to that paid for the transport of the peasant himself. During the rainy growing season, the trip may take up to five hours as the truck stops at farms all the way down the mountain to load sacks of produce.

Agricultural and pastoral production are organized along age group lines. This will be more thoroughly discussed in Chapter IV dealing with life cycles. Now it is sufficient to outline the activities of each age group. Sex segregated work on the farm creates two separate spheres of activity, that directed by the household head and that directed by his spouse.

Children of each sex up until age three play no role in production. Females aged four to seven assist their older

female siblings in care of younger siblings of each sex. Females aged eight to 14 assume primary responsibility for the care of younger siblings. They also assist in the kitchen, in milking the cows in the morning, and in cleaning houses and washing laundry at the stream. By age 15 the female is wholly responsible for milking and assumes a larger share of the burden of food preparation and washing and cleaning. Child care recedes in importance but never fully ceases. Adult females are responsible for all operations of the female sphere of activity and assume primary responsibility for cooking, cleaning, mending, and washing while they indirectly have ultimate responsibility for child care, milking, and other tasks assumed by younger females.

Male children aged four to seven are initiated in the care of animals as they assist older siblings. Between ages eight and 14 male children assume the major responsibility for herding cattle and for care of the beasts of burden, washing them in the stream when the household head returns from traveling. They also chop firewood and carry it to the kitchen. From ages 15 to adulthood the male offspring leaves behind his responsibilities for care of the cattle and is initiated into horticultural work in the mixed garden. No task is kept from him, and he assumes a work load equal to that of an adult, even though his activities are directed by the household head.

<u>Peasant farms: Coastal</u>

The coastal peasant farm bears many superficial similarities

to the highland peasant farm because each unit is involved in subsistence agriculture and the yearly cycle affects each unit similarly. The scheduling of planting and harvesting are the same. While ecological conditions are the same, historical circumstances and certain social traditions set the coastal peasant off as distinct from the highland peasant. Cultural traditions transmute the gross effects of ecological conditions, since these two subcultures manifest quite different adjustive responses to similar ecological circumstances.

Peasants of the coast live in urban nodal centers scattered along the road networks across the countryside called _aldeas_ or hamlets and _pueblos_ or towns. There are six peasant hamlets in Orejones, but the bulk of the peasants live in neighborhoods of the town of Majagua. The peasant's _roza_ or mixed garden is always located at some distance from his home. He commutes to his garden for three or four days at a time by burro, on foot, on bicycle, or in _chivas_, the brightly painted wooden-bodied buses built on old truck and car frames. The latter regularly travel the dirt roads of the countryside carrying passengers, supplies for estate commissaries, and transporting peasants and their produce, day laborers, estate employees, and estate administrators to town. But the burro is the most common means of transport for the peasant.

At the farm the coastal peasant lives during his stay in a second house of his own construction. He cooks his own meals, cleans this second house himself, works in the fields, and sleeps by himself. After several days of such work he

returns to town with his burro loaded down with produce, firewood, charcoal, or other products of his labor.

The crops planted differ only slightly from those planted in the highlands. Corn, manioc, sugar cane, black-eyed peas, and cannabis are common to both. But in the case of the coastal peasant few of these are grown as cash crops. The highland peasant, as seen above, is a commercial cultivator of cannabis, but the coastal peasant plants only a small amount and this for his own consumption and for petty trade with day laborers. Similarly, corn, manioc, and peas are planted in smaller quantities. The reason is the smaller size of the farm. All coastal peasant holdings result from (1) invasions of United Fruit Company lands during the 1940's, or (2) saving, obtaining a good reputation, obtaining a cosigner for a loan, and purchasing the land. Under each of these circumstances the garden plots are small in contrast to those of the highlanders. One significant cropping difference is observed. The coastal peasant depends heavily upon the _plátano_ or plantain and corn, rather than upon manioc as does the highland peasant. The plantain is a _cultivo permanente_ much like pasture grasses and fruit trees, meaning that after planting little else is done until harvest. A stand of 20 to 25 plantain trees insures that the family will survive the dry summer without fear of hunger. The plantain requires less intensive labor than the staple manioc of the highland peasant. The preference for plantain in the coastal subculture is related to the organization of work on the farm.

The coastal peasant lives out most of his life in a nuclear family unit: a man, his spouse, and their children. The nuclear family is only one stage of the developmental cycle of the stem family, but one which endures the longest of any. In terms of production it is the nuclear unit which does the actual work on the farm. This work unit consists of a man and his adolescent aged male children. But in practice the work unit often consists of only the adult household head. Upon reaching adolescence his sons wish to seek wage labor in the countryside or the city (see Chapter IV). The smaller size of the land area and the smaller size of the work unit each decrease the output of the coastal peasant farm.

Another contrast between the highland and coastal peasant farms is the social origin of each group. The coastal peasant is invariably the son of a migratory wage laborer who came to the banana zone to work for the United Fruit Company. The coastal peasant himself has engaged in wage labor for the Company or for one of the large estates. His adolescent son is now so engaged. Therefore, the coastal peasant is a day laborer who only recently obtained land. The highland peasant, in contrast, is invariably the offspring of a peasant in the interior.

The coastal peasant has migrated as a day laborer over the length and breadth of the coast, visiting hundreds of different towns, working on many different estates as a young man. He learned to depend upon relationships among nonkin during those migratory years. Later in life he depended upon

those nonkin relationships to find a fiador or cosigner for a loan to purchase his plot of land. That some former day laborers have obtained land in this manner and made it produce for decades is testimony to the fact that the capital was found among these nonkin resources.

Work on the coastal farm is not clearly age structured as on the highland farm. There are fewer workers, children do not live on the farm but in town, and there is not as much work to do. The division into sex segregated spheres of work activity is similar. Female children assist their mothers in the care of younger siblings between ages seven and 14 and milk the cow. Unlike the highland farm the coastal farm rarely has a number of livestock. The coastal farm has no pasture lands upon which cattle may be sharecropped. The coastal peasant is only a horticulturalist and not a pastoralist. Chickens, a burro, and a milk cow are the essential animals. Few have more than these. Young males aged seven to 14 may accompany their father to the farm, but their work is only minimal. Males in the coastal subculture begin adult work patterns in the work crews of the estates.

Shopkeeper farms

The beef and cattle products consumed in Majagúa are marketed by the shopkeepers of both coastal and highland subcultures. Farms belonging to the shopkeepers and sharecropping arrangements with the highland peasants provide these products.

The shopkeepers who own these units hire a single employee who is called a trabajador or worker to live on the farm, care

for the cattle, milk them once a day, transport the milk to town, report signs of illness, and play the role of watchman. The worker's offspring are frequently godchildren and employer and employee address each other as compadre or coparent.

The owners of these units of production purchase their calves from the larger cattle estates in the municipality, preferably during March, April, or May of the year when they are ready for sale. The calves may be immediately transported to a highland farm for grazing over the next several years. As heifers mature these are brought down to the lowland farm of the shopkeeper for milking. Steers are brought down for eventual sale. Milk is sold to the numerous small shops of the town and hauled to town on burros, mules, or horses.

The kind of cattle and cattle products produced on this farm differ significantly from those of the large cattle estates. Milk and cheese production on the estates is often of minor concern. Beef is generally the major product of the estates and this is marketed in the city. But small cattle farms market both milk and beef in the town nearby. The capital investment is limited. A bull used for reproduction on a shopkeeper's farm is generally purchased for six to seven thousand pesos, whereas bulls on large estates in the same municipio are often valued at 20,000 pesos, and it is reported by the veterinarian for one estate that bulls on large dairy farms near Santa Marta may have been purchased in the United States for as much as 70,000 pesos. Similarly, the number of cattle on the shopkeeper's farm ranges between 30 and 100, whereas the great estates have herds of several

thousands.

These compose the variety of production units operating in the municipality. Of these only the highland and coastal peasant farms are involved in cannabis production. Cannabis distribution and consumption will be taken up under the appropriate headings later in this chapter, where it will be seen that personnel of other production units (e.g. day laborers on the estates) are related to some aspect of the cannabis cycle.

Production of Cannabis

Cannabis is farmed in clandestine plots in the highlands of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta and in the lowland towns and farms. In the municipality of Orejones there are two broad patterns of cultivation.

The highland peasant grows cannabis for commercial purposes. He is not a cannabis consumer. The peasant generally plants his seeds just as the March rains begin, together with his other crops such as corn, beans, sugar cane, and manioc, in his mixed garden plot. These commercial growers first germinate their seeds in a germination box made of four logs placed in a square surrounding well cleaned and well pulverized soil. The seeds are simply scattered on the surface of the prepared soil. A thick layer of commercial ant-killer is spread around the perimeter (Aldrine). The plants are thinned, selected, and transplanted to the peasant's mixed garden for that year in about 15 to 20 days. When cannabis is to be included in the garden it is planted at the lowest point on

the hillside, below the tall corn plants mixed with manioc plants, and far from the numerous paths which criss-cross the ridge tops. In this manner the growing crop is concealed.

Highland peasants plant in quantities dictated by the middlemen with whom they form contracts. A peasant does not simply plant a cannabis crop for market sales. He does so when he is assured of a buyer, and the buyer contracts verbally for a certain amount. Most buyers and peasants produce only a few hectares of cannabis, but occasionally the particularly affluent and well connected buyer calls for an especially large planting, perhaps 10 hectares. One such planting was found in Orejones in 1973. At the end of the growing season, October, the peasant producer was arrested along with several others and the entire crop destroyed (El Tiempo October 2, 1973). Nobody went to jail, however, as the commercial buyer and peasants together were able to provide the police with a substantial payoff. Several other commercial growers commented at the time that the peasants who were arrested were foolish. Planting a large crop is an invitation to the police, for it indicates considerable financial backing and at least the possibility for a healthy bribe. Similarly, informants warned that a very small crop would invite police action, since the police must arrest someone and a small crop indicates no support of a powerful middleman. The small cropper thus becomes a statistic in the arrest records of the region, and the police are covered in the event that their superiors pressure them for more action against the growers.

Ideally, claim these informants, from two to four hectares seems the safest size for a cannabis crop, for this indicates to the police that one is neither too large a producer to be a profitable arrest nor too small to be without good connections among the wealthy middlemen. Police action seems to stem not so much from the law, which forbids the cultivation of cannabis, but from the social and economic factors associated with such action.

In contrast to highland peasants, coastal peasants and day laborers do not plant in large quantities. Neither do they use the germination box technique. Rather, they plant cannabis like corn. A hole is poked in the prepared soil with a machete and covered over with the foot after several seeds are dropped in. Several weeks later the smaller of the resulting plants are thinned out, leaving the healthiest looking plants to grow to maturity. When asked about this difference in planting techniques, coastal informants explain that the highlanders use a germination box because they are all from Norte de Santander. In that region tobacco is an important cash crop, and since tobacco seeds are quite small a germination box is needed. But there is no need for this with cannabis. The highlanders plant as they do out of habit, the coastal growers conclude.

The coastal grower usually plants for his own consumption needs. A single plant may produce up to 20 pounds of leaves and two or three pounds of resinous stem tips. Ten or fewer plants assure the coastal consumer-cultivator of

sufficient cannabis for his own needs, and of several extra pounds for barter and trade with day laborers who have no land upon which to plant cannabis for themselves. Some day laborers plant a few plants in the patio of the home, but many purchase cannabis in small packages called papeletas from other day laborers and peasants who specialize in cannabis distribution of small two or three gram packages.

Cultivators and consumers class the parts of the plant into two categories: la mona which is made up of the mixture of resin, small leaves, and small stems from the top of the mature female plant, and la hoja or the larger lower leaves of both male and female plants. La mona is sold to a buyer for around 200 to 300 pesos a pound and la hoja brings about 100 pesos a pound. The buyer usually doubles these prices paid to the cultivator when the product is retailed. Consumers universally prefer la mona for smoking, but are not always able to afford it.

It should be noted, however, that la mona is often used as a generic term to refer to cannabis generally in the same way that the terms la amarilla and marihuana are used. The term canabis is used by adolescent offspring of the upper sector in small towns and cities who experiment with this and other drugs. In this social sector, such drug use is clearly influenced by the so-called "hippie movement" in the United States and Europe. Such usage indicates more than the easy transference of symbols of rebellion and alienation from the industrial societies to the underdeveloped society.

It also suggests that the conditions of cultural transmission and the replication of societal structures in each of these societies have been affected by similar changes during the mid-twentieth century. Such changes, that is changes which are affecting both the industrial and underdeveloped societies, are probably of world wide distribution and as such could be profitably investigated and compared in terms of effects on various kinds of social structures. But that is not the focus of the present work.

Consumers and cultivators alike often refer to cannabis simply as _ella_, "she" and "her" regardless of the type being consumed. One never hears the classic Spanish _cáñamo_, meaning hemp, applied to cannabis in any of the groups of the municipality. This word signifies a lasso made of _cabuya_ fiber in this region of Colombia.

Harvesting of the cannabis plants takes several days of intense labor on the part of the males of the household. The harvesting techniques do not seem to vary with subculture as much as with individual preference. Some merely yank the plant up by the roots and strip off _la mona_ into one pile and _la hoja_ into another. Others practice a more complicated procedure. The plants are first girdled by cutting off a ring of bark around the circumference of the trunk. In a few days the leaves begin to fall off. These are gathered and packed for sale either as they fall off or as they are picked just before falling. Then when all of the leaves have fallen or been picked, the tip of the female plant,

called *la mota* sometimes, is harvested. Male plants mature faster than female, and these are simply harvested when the leaves begin to turn yellow and dry out. Much greater care is taken with the female plant, which ripens a month after the male plant's leaves begin to turn yellow. By girdling the female plant the leaves are air and sun dried before sale or consumption. This process of harvesting is believed to increase the potency of the marihuana: by girdling the trunk, informants state, one conserves the *leche* or sap of the plant, and this is believed to rise to the tip of the plant since it cannot flow to the roots.

Among the commercial growers in the highlands, informants report a variety of cannabis they call *patagallina* or chicken foot. This is said to be an inferior grade of cannabis, but in reality appears to be *Hibiscus cannabinus L.* or kenaf (Pate, *et al.* 1954). During the 1950's a landowner in the municipality operated a fiber industry under contract with the United States Department of Agriculture. This operation was closed down in 1961, but plants can still be found in the area. *Patagallina* seems to resemble cannabis in leaf form and stature only, which does not preclude its sale as cannabis. This mistaken identification of kenaf as cannabis, and the inappropriate cultivation techniques imported from the interior of the country, both point to the *cachaco* commercial growers as relatively new innovators. While the presence of cannabis among coastal people seems traditional, its presence among the highlanders is probably a market-induced phenomenon.

Systems of Distribution

Implied in the discussion of systems of production are systems of relationships which govern the distribution of produce. The estate system, in the case of both rice and cattle, and the INCORA peasant cooperatives, supply the urban markets of the coast. Trucks owned by certain landowners and by certain storeowners of Majagua roll out of the rural estates and cooperatives loaded with sacks of rice and cattle on the hoof bound for Barranquilla, the industrial center and most populous city of the north coast. There the products are processed and retailed in the city. Cattle and cattle products so distributed rarely return to the hinterlands. Other sources supply the meat, milk, and cheese eaten in Orejones. Rice on the other hand returns to the municipality in paper and plastic bags. These are retailed by the general stores and small shops. The large stores generally sell in large quantities to the upper sector of the population and to the estates and peasant farms located at great distances from town. Such purchases require significant amounts of ready cash or credit. The *tienda* however, markets the same rice in small quantities at three, three and one-half, and four pesos according to quality. Day laborers who are able to save nothing of their daily wage of necessity purchase rice and all other foods in such small quantities. So characteristic is this mode of distribution that it deserves some elaboration.

While there are only five general stores in Majagua,

retailing everything from nonperishable food stuffs to saddles and bridles to kerosene lamps and aluminum cookware to farm implements and pharmaceutical supplies, there are over 50 tiendas in the town. These small shops tend to be family run enterprises. Children take their turn behind the counter just as do adults. Most such shops are merely the front rooms of residences with a counter, some shelves, a refrigerator for cold drinks, and some chairs or benches. Tienda owners are frequently widowed women, older day laborers, or young men who have been apprenticed to a general store owner and thereby become clients of his. The large stores or almacenes supply the tiendas with their stock which is sold in large quantities at retail prices. Thus, the tienda owner makes very little profit. A pound of coffee, for example, sells for 9.50 pesos in a large store whether retail or wholesale. The tienda owner will break the pound into 20 small papeletas or packages of coffee. These are sold for .50 centavos each, so that the profit on a pound of coffee is .50 centavos. This is roughly half the value of a small plantain, one fourth the value of an egg, or the value of two of the cups of coffee he drinks during the day. Since only a pound or two of coffee may be sold in a day, the margin of profit is slim.

The redivision of items sold in the tienda applies to all goods which are sold. Rice, raw sugar, salt, bread, beans, laundry soap, candles, cigarettes, kerosene, cooking oil, and all other items are divided into quantities the

client wishes to purchase. One can purchase a single cigarette, a chunk of raw sugar sufficient for sweetening only a single pot of coffee, or half of a candle. The availability of such quantities points up the very small daily resources of the clientele of the *tiendas.* For the day laborers of the town it is both a necessity and a tragic element in a cycle that deprives them of the capacity to budget and economize their household expenses.

Ward (1967:138), in a study of merchants in a small fishing village near Hong Kong, has explained the multiplicity of middlement in terms of the elaboration and extension of credit arrangements throughout a society in which capital is scarce. In the present instance, however, capital is not scarce. Credit is scarce. Significant amounts of money are earned and invested by certain members of this community. Some such investments and purchases provide for other members of the community, day laborers, for example, their only means of support. But significant amounts of money are also earned by members of the community and invested elsewhere, providing no means of support for other members of the community. An obvious example is the urban dwelling estate owner who invests profits earned not in the development of the estate but in another, urban located enterprise. Similarly, the day laborer who shops for clothing in the city rather than in town redirects his smaller investment. The result is that there is little credit for the poorest members of the community, since there is little income.

The data collected from Orejones cannot be explained using Ward's (1967) model. Tiendas in Majagua do not grant credit to day laborers, and day laborers greatly outnumber any other social category in the municipality. In each tienda can be found a book of accounts of certain persons who have credit who turn out to be relatives and friends of long standing, but these amount to only a handful of the customers. Street traffic accounts for the majority of purchases in these shops, in keeping with the shifting work opportunities and migratory character of the clientele. The significant factor here is not the elaboration of credit throughout the society, but the simple market mechanism of dividing a given item into smaller units so that each unit accrues value through exchange. The tienda owner tailors his product to the needs of his clients: small, inexpensive quantities. The day laborer can afford no other amount.

The multiplicity of middlemen must be explained in terms other than the multiplicity of credit, for there is no credit for the day worker. Ward (1967:139) specifies that the great number of creditors in a society follows from the great number of consumers in that society, post hoc, ergo propter hoc, due to the personalistic nature of the creditor-debtor relationship. Yet in the present instance a great number of consumers can find little credit. An explanation which more closely fits the facts is that a small cash wage in the absence of credit tends to produce the need for small, inexpensive quantities of goods. Middlemen multiply in such a situation

in response to that need. If there are many people paid a small wage there are many more opportunities for small purchases, the result being that the number of middlemen multiplies to meet the demand.

The significant fact about one distribution system in Majagua, therefore, is the proliferation of tiendas which serve the function of breaking down large quantities of goods into small, inexpensive quantities which can be purchased with great frequency by the bulk of the population.

Ward (1967:139-140) also postulates that the primary producer such as the peasant becomes more or less productive depending upon his credit arrangements at the local stores, since the threat to stop credit stimulates the peasant to produce. Unfortunately, this reasoning does not fit the evidence from Majagua either. For the peasant is not dependent upon the store owner for credit to plant his crops, but for the simple purchase in bulk of items such as salt, rice, sugar, and other items which demand significant amounts of money or credit to obtain. Productivity is affected more by the annual planting loan obtained through the Agrarian Bank or Cattleman's Bank. Tightening of credit in the stores means only that the peasant will purchase less economical quantities of goods, i.e., smaller quantities. Productivity is only indirectly affected and then only in the long run in relation to factors such as nutrition and time away from work to make more frequent purchases.

Here in Majagua, as elsewhere (Arensberg and Kimball 1968),

the threat to stop credit or actual stoppage rarely occurs. An outstanding account with a patron-shopkeeper is common among the peasants. The shopkeepers and the peasants rarely break such relationships by paying accounts in full or by demanding payment in full. One storekeeper complained that since the highlanders began planting cannabis they no longer seek him out for credit. Just the other day he loaned a *compadre* from the highlands 4,000 pesos. The ungrateful peasant paid it back in full in two weeks time. In the old days, says the shopkeeper, such an account would have taken a peasant many months to repay (during which time he would have sought further credit). This comment raises the possibility that cannabis cultivators sever their ties by paying their accounts at the store, but this is not the case. All cannabis cultivators continue to run up large accounts at the stores of their patrons. What the above mentioned shopkeeper was referring to was cash loans which are usually made at a 20% interest charge by people who have money to those who do not. The shopkeeper laments that such a loan can now be paid back readily, including the exorbitant interest, and the peasant does not become further indebted by taking out further cash loans. The shopkeepers owning the large stores provide food and other goods in large amounts to families of professionals, government employees, the police, artisans, and estate employees as well as to highland peasants. These are the families which have credit at the store. In addition street vendors, the *tiendas*, and women in the stalls of the

market building provide foods strictly on a cash and carry basis to all social sectors of the town. For fresh fruits and vegetables, meat, eggs, milk, cheese, and certain local breads everyone must shop the market building, the street vendors and the tiendas. But for processed foods such as corn, beans, rice, salt, sugar, cooking oil, condiments, potatoes, coffee and other items which can be purchased in bulk, those with credit shop the large stores.

As one poor day laborer put it, "money talks." Credit is only granted to those who regularly earn money, despite Ward's (1967) claim that they need only be consumers.

There are, therefore, two local systems of distribution outlined so far: that based upon credit and that based upon cash. But there is still a third distribution system among related family units in the countryside. This has been well documented by Alicia and Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff (Dussan de Reichel 1958, Reichel-Dolmatoff 1966). Peasants of both sub-cultures produce a variety of foods, but never the full variety of foods consumed. The tendency towards a degree of specialization (e.g. corn, coffee, plantains) produces a situation in which one household has an abundance of certain items and less of others. Hence, related family units often give gifts of items which they have in abundance in the valid expectation that the gifts will be returned. A stalk of bananas ripens all at once. Should several stalks ripen at the same time, there is an excess, and the household head may sell some of these to market women or to street vendors. Or

he may give them to a filial, affinal, or fictive relative. When that unit then has a surplus of, say, manioc, the giver will become a receiver. An example mentioned earlier is the division of a pig or cow. Related units receive portions of the animal, and when they in turn slaughter they distribute portions in return.

Even though coastal peasants were once day laborers themselves and even though they are related filially, affinally, and fictively to families of day laborers, no such partitioning of food stuffs occurs between day laborers and coastal peasants. An example will clarify this point. A coastal peasant was visited by his paternal first cousin, a day laborer in Majagua, and asked for the loan of food. The day laborer was refused even though he was closely related. The peasant later explained his reasons to be that the day laborer was not part of his family. The peasant found it necessary in this instance to define his family rather narrowly, as is usually the case with upwardly mobile poor people (Whitten 1965). The significance of this act is made clear when it is noted that this same peasant was then engaged in numerous exchange relationships with other peasants who were unrelated and with an unrelated shopkeeper. As Levi-Strauss (1969:131) has phrased it, the mutual debt between those indebted to each other leads to interdependency and organic solidarity, but the mutual debt between creditors leads to extinction. The redistributive relationships among peasants is a third kind of distribution system.

A final system of distribution involves the local marketing of cattle and cattle products. As mentioned earlier, cattle and cattle products from the large estates do not reach the townspeople (unless they go to the city to buy these, as some wealthy families do). Only the sick or thin steer is marketed in the town from this source. The important source of meat, milk, and cheese in the town is the small scale operation of the shopkeeper and his employee. Milk is brought to the market building and to the numerous tiendas by such employees about 6:00 A.M. each day and lines of children with pails stretch out in front of these shops for an hour or more each morning. Other small scale producers market their milk at a cheese processing plant on the outskirts of town. This is made into cottage cheese and sold to the same tiendas where it is then retailed in small quantities.

Meat is marketed only in the market building and in one large general store nearby. The general store has a freezer, so that meat can be stocked and made regularly available, but it is quite expensive since the retailer waits for "meatless days" and then sells his frozen meat to the wealthy. Most meat consumed in town is sold in the stalls of the market building. There is only one retailer of meat and the scarcity of meat-selling middlemen is not due to the scarcity of consumers, as Ward (1967) would have it, but to the intricacies of complying with government regulations for slaughtering, processing, and retailing. Technically, any animal slaughtered for sale to the public must be inspected by the health inspector, the police captain, the mayor, and the tax

collector, each of whom must affix his signature and rubber stamps of office to a certificate indicating the inspection was passed. In practice, only the health inspector and the police captain actually see the animal. The others merely sign and stamp the certificate of inspection. The specialist in this transaction is able to ease the complexities of the inspection process through gifts made to the poorly paid police officers and health inspector.

Most meat consumed in the town is slaughtered at the municipal slaughter house. One man butchers all the animals. He begins work in the early morning around 2:00 A.M. by killing an animal with a carbine. He then butchers it, loads it on his horse-drawn wagon, and has it at the market stall by 4:30 A.M. where it is further prepared for retailing. Townspeople begin arriving about 5:30 A.M. since there is always a limited amount of meat available. On "meatless days" several peasants of the town learn of it when the meat retailer is not observed to be obtaining inspection certificates. These peasants then butcher a hog and sell it from a wheelbarrow, if one can be found, at exorbitant prices. On Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays only one steer is butchered at the slaughterhouse. On Mondays and Fridays two steers are slaughtered, and on Saturdays and Sundays three to four are killed. This schedule reflects the ebb and flow of people coming to town over the weekend from the estates and farms. When they return to the countryside they carry with them a pound or two of meat.

In summary, there are five systems of distribution observed in the municipality. These are: (1) sales to the urban centers from the large estates, (2) sales of foods to the large stores by the peasants which are then retailed through credit relationships (3) sales of fresh fruits and foods to market women, street vendors, and _tiendas_ which are then sold only on a cash basis, (4) gifts of food among related peasant households, and (5) sales of beef and cattle products to the meat retailer and _tiendas_ who then retail only on a cash basis.

Distribution of Cannabis

There are two separate cannabis distribution systems which correspond to the two systems of cultivation discussed above. The first can be called the market-induced system, involving the highland commercial growers and wealthy buyers and retailers of the upper sector of the coastal subculture. This system moves large quantities of cannabis to the cities of the coast and into the interior, often for export to the urban markets of the United States. Newspaper reports appear with regularity which testify to the large scale of this operation, an operation involving millions of dollars (_El Tiempo_, May 8, 1973, _El Espectador_, April 12, 1973, _El Espectador_, January 5, 1973, _El Espectador_, November 19, 1972, _El Tiempo_, June 12, 1973, _El Diario del Caribe_, May 26, 1973).

The second system may be called the traditional system, and involves no wealthy upper sector middlemen but is specific to the lower sector of the coastal subculture. The

coastal peasant produces in small quantities and sells to certain day laborers who are also consumers. These persons in turn sell in even smaller quantities to fellow day laborers in the town and countryside. The homes of certain day laborers who act as distributors are often centers where users assemble, smoke cannabis, talk, gossip, and make their purchases. Such sites are called caletas, the same term given to any place where workers assemble to talk and gossip, meaning a small bay or cove in nautical terminology. These sites are frequented by a number of people, and informants were asked how secrecy was maintained, or if not secrecy then some degree of security from law enforcement officials. They explained that, first, the police themselves are frequently consumers of cannabis, and that those who are not accept bribes quite readily. Second, the petty merchant usually gets on well with his neighbors because he makes small loans to them. These loans of perhaps five or 10 pesos, are seldom repaid. Rather, such a good neighbor policy is considered a business cost that is to be absorbed.

The commercial distributor who buys from the highland cultivator is from the upper sector of the coastal subculture. These are professionals such as physicians, teachers, agronomists, landowners, and managers of rice and cattle estates, and government employees at the municipal, departmental, and national levels. They are uniformly descended from influential and wealthy families who rose to power during the heyday of the banana industry on the coast.

Today their economic and social statuses are threatened by the collapse of the banana industry, and they are naturally drawn into lucrative businesses. While this business activity is technically illegal, members of the upper sector view it as yet another form of contraband merchandising. Most persons of the upper sector play some role in contraband activity, either acting as middlemen, buyers, or consumers. The writer has often been offered a glass of imported Scotch in government offices and private homes of the elite which has been obtained through contraband networks. The members of several prominent families of the town are involved in marketing such items (including Scotch, televisions, radios, clothing, tape recorders, cigarettes, and the like) in Colombia, Venezuela, and Panama. Cannabis merchandising is viewed as simply another, albeit lucrative, contraband activity. As one upper sector woman laughingly said, "Majagua produces the best marihuana in the world."

The traditional or petty distributor who buys from the cultivator of the lower coastal sector is himself a member of that sector. Here there is no unusual initiation of interaction among groups which normally do not interact, as in the case of commercial cultivation and distribution. Radical changes in the nature of customary interaction are not observed in the traditional distribution system in that the cannabis production-distribution-consumption network conforms well to other networks of interaction found in this sector. That is, traditional distribution occurs

among day laborers and coastal peasants who normally exchange personnel through mating relationships and food stuffs through cash purchases and redistributive arrangements. Cannabis is no different in this regard from food. Day laborers obtain cannabis from coastal peasant growers just as they obtain plantain, manioc, or corn grown by the coastal peasants through day laborers who sell these for cash. Moreover, those involved in cannabis distribution of the traditional kind do not initiate exchange relationships with persons with whom they do not normally have such relationships, such as professionals, highland peasants, or estate administrators.

In contrast, the commercial distributor and the highland peasant do not normally interact at any level or maintain any kind of exchange relationship. Cannabis is the cause of the initiation of interaction among these two segments of the community. In this sense, the market-induced distribution system may be considered deviant and marginal to normal social relationships in the community.

Neither petty distributors nor commercial distributors are occupied full-time with this activity. The petty distributor is a day laborer of the coastal subculture who works at a variety of jobs and sells cannabis only as a part-time specialty. In no cases do petty distributors sell to commercial distributors, nor is the reverse true. Commercial distributors operate large estates, deliver professional services to the population, and work in government offices.

They do not work full-time as cannabis distributors either. And these two classes of distributors sell to quite different clientele.

A word should be said regarding the relationship between the police and the traditional and commercial cannabis distributors. Cannabis does not cause the initiation of unusual or deviant patterns of interaction here. The police, as explained by the mayor, are very poorly paid, and in order to get any service delivered people must frequently offer gifts. Several incidents confirm the mayor's summation of the situation. On one occasion a knife fight broke out during the yearly Carnival celebration, and women in nearby houses began screaming for the police. One of these women went running two blocks to the police barracks where she encountered six policemen drinking cold drinks (nonalcoholic) in the shade of the trees by the barracks. When she explained the need for police intervention, that someone might be killed, the senior member of the garrison replied "Okay, Okay, talk to my pocket." The woman returned without the police intervention she had sought. A more common incident, one which occurs regularly, is characterized by the highland peasants as "milking the cow." It is illegal to carry a pistol in Colombia without a permit from the secret police, yet all highland peasants regularly are armed with pistols. The police regularly set up road blocks on the road leading down to Majagua from the highlands, stop the truck, and search the peasants for arms. Those peasants who are unable

to hide their pistols are often caught without the proper papers since the proper papers are rarely issued to peasants by the secret police. The police then "milk" the peasant for 100 pesos or so and permit him to continue on his journey. It cannot be maintained, therefore, that cannabis is the cause of any unusual interaction patterns on the part of the police.

Systems of Consumption

Units of consumption are best described in terms of their characteristic social relationships, in terms of patterned variability due to either seasonal rhythms or production schedule rhythms, and the kinds of foods consumed. Placing the data in such a complex classificatory scheme creates a complex model, but this is necessary in order to include all the variables. Units will be lumped together first on the basis of pattern variability through time, and then kinds of food consumed and relationships among the consumers will provide for further divisions of each category.

The first category consists of those consumption units that experience little significant variability over the year. These are the households of landowners, government employees, professionals, storekeepers, rice estate administrators and employees, cattle estate administrators, and artisans.

This category can be further broken down on the basis of the forms of social relationships represented into two

subcategories. The first of these is characterized by the domestic servant-household head's spouse relationship. The domestic servant is present in the household of the landowner, government employee, storekeeper, and professional. The domestic is always a woman mated or married to a day laborer. She rarely lives in the home of the household she serves, generally arriving around 7:00 A.M. and leaving after preparing the evening mean around 6:00 P.M. She attends to the following tasks: shopping for the day's foods, preparation of the food, serving the food, clearing away the dirty dishes, cleaning the kitchen and washing the dishes, sweeping and mopping the floors, and watering the fruit trees and plants in the patio. In these activities she is directed by the household head's spouse, who often assists with the shopping and with the preparation of the meals, although not with the other activities. The female spouse generally spends her time in the care of young children, watching the <u>novelas</u> or serialized soap operas on television, reading popular magazines, sewing, knitting, and visiting with other wives in the neighborhood. The domestic has the additional responsibility of keeping hot <u>tinto</u> or black coffee available throughout the day, and serving this in the morning to the males before other kinds of activity are initiated.

In these kinds of consumption units the meal is served for all household members at a regularly scheduled time. Children are taught to sit at the dining table with

their parents and all eat together. Meals are scheduled for 7:30 A.M., 12:30 P.M., and 6:30 P.M. Excused from this schedule are school aged children whose classes conflict with the schedule. These eat in the kitchen when they can, as does the domestic servant. Another exception is the shopkeeper, who is always up and at work before his family awakes, about 6:30 A.M. He returns to eat breakfast around 8:30 and is served separately for the women and children eat together earlier.

The second subtype includes the households of the artisan, rice estate employee and administrator, and the cattle estate administrator. These units lack the domestic servant, so all activity surrounding food preparation falls to the female spouse and her female offspring. The young children are sent out about 6:30 A.M. to secure the day's supply of milk. At about the same time the male household head secures the day's supply of meat. The female spouse goes with a basket to the market stalls for vegetables and other needed items. The group reassembles and preparation of the morning meal is undertaken. In these units the males of adult and adolescent ages are served first at the table, and the younger children and the women second or in the kitchen. This is the procedure for all meals excepting festive events when the entire group sits at the table together.

Figure 7 demonstrates the typical meal schedule for units with no patterned variability. Of course, items

Morning meal	Coffee with boiled milk and sugar, cheese, fried or scrambled eggs with tomato and onion, commercially baked bread, fruit or fruit juice, milk.
Midday meal	Soup of rice, potatoes, noodles, corn, plantain, onions, oregano, tomatoes, manioc, yams, chunks of beef or pork or chicken; plate of fried pork or beef or chicken or fish, boiled rice or manioc or potato or plantain; dessert of bananas, guava jelly, cookies or candies; soft drink, beer, or fruit juice.
Evening meal	Boiled rice, boiled beans; fried beef, pork, chicken, or fish; fried plantains, seasoned noodles, or boiled vegetables; fruit; dessert of commercial cookies or candies; soft drink, beer, or fruit juices.

FIGURE 7

Daily Meal Schedule of Consumption Units with No Patterned Variability

listed vary in relation to economic resources so that there occur variations among subtypes of this kind of unit. But despite differences in the day-to-day content of the meal schedule among groups in this category the contents are present and made available throughout the year more often than in other categories. The only exceptions involve shortages of certain items (e.g. corn during times of the year, cooking oil during a nationwide strike) which affect all consumption units of the community.

The second major category of consumption unit consists of those which experience seasonable variability in their diet. These are the highland peasant households, coastal peasant households, cattle estate employee households, households of street vendors, _tienda_ owner households, and market women households. The source of the variability is a strong degree of dependence upon subsistence horticulture or dependence upon other units which depend upon subsistence horticulture. In this part of Colombia this means that the food consumed during the rainy season is significantly different from that consumed during the dry season, _invierno_ and _verano_ respectively.

A comparison of the meal schedules in Figure 8 reveals critical shortages of milk, cheese, corn, and meats during the dry summer period. In addition, cash resources are low as a result of cash crops receipts being depleted so that the purchase of rice, cooking oil, refined sugar, beans, potatoes, tomatoes, and onions becomes more infrequent.

Rainy Season

Morning meal	Corn bollo (coastal bread) or corn arepa (highland bread); coffee with boiled milk and sugar; cheese; boiled plantain or manioc; eggs fried or scrambled with onions and tomatoes.
Midday meal	Soup of rice, manioc, potato, corn, and chunks of beef, pork, or chicken; plate of boiled manioc, plantain, rice, potato, or beans; water, fruit juice, or water mixed with lime and raw sugar.
Evening meal	Boiled manioc, rice, or plantain; fried meat or fish or boiled beans; black coffee, water with lime juice and sugar, or fruit juice.

Dry Season

Morning meal	Coffee with raw sugar; boiled manioc or plantain.
Midday meal	Boiled manioc or plantain; fried egg or fish; water with lime and raw sugar.
Evening meal	Boiled manioc or boiled plantain; beans or egg; water with lime and raw sugar.

FIGURE 8

Daily Meal Schedule for Consumption Units with Seasonal Variability

The dry summer brings dependence upon manioc in the highlands and dependence upon plantain in the lowlands for this kind of consumption unit. Weeks have been passed by the writer in the homes of peasants during the summer when manioc or plantain were the only food served to the family. By the same token, when the planting loans are received for the approaching growing season these same households blossom forth with rice, potatoes, tomatoes, cooking oil, and other products available in the stores of Majagua. As the cash crop ripens breads, milk and cheese, pork, beef, fish, and chicken once again enter the diet. But by November manioc and plantain will again loom large in the diet.

On the peasant farm females are responsible for all activities involving food preparation, males are responsible for food procurement. Females aged eight and up assist the household head's spouse in her duties and males aged 15 and older assist the procurement of food.

A third category of consumption unit is that structured by the rhythm of production cycles on the estates. This unit is the household of the landless day laborer, the worker whose life is organized around the availability of jobs on the large estates. Since most are employed on rice estates this production schedule will be used as an example. It will be recalled that opportunities for work are greatest during the planting times and least during growing and harvest times. During the period of January to March and July to September day laborers are at work on the estates. During

the periods of April to June and October to December there is little work for the day laborers. The meal schedules in Figure 9 demonstrate the contrast in the diets of these two periods. It need only be added that in the homes of day laborers it has often been discovered that only one or two meals are eaten daily. In some instances these consist of only a cup of rice and a plantain.

The situation of the day laborer can be understood more fully by consulting Figure 10 which demonstrates the prices of items commonly consumed in the municipality. It should be remembered that the day laborer makes only 20 to 25 pesos a day when there is work. And it must be added that the prices listed do not necessarily indicate what a day laborer will buy. What is cheaper is not necessarily more desirable. For example, raw sugar and refined sugar cost exactly the same amount, but the day laborer buys raw sugar because it can be obtained in smaller than one pound chunks whereas a whole pound of refined sugar must be purchased. Likewise, coffee is never purchased by the pound but by the .50 _centavo_ package. This holds true for rice, beans, beef, and other products which are subdivided at the _tiendas_ and in the market building. In this fashion the day laborer's 25 pesos can be divided out over a variety of needed food stuffs.

An income of 25 pesos will feed the average sized family of the municipality (seven persons) about one pound of rice a day for each family member. Or a little less than one salted fish can be provided each day for each member of the

January to March and July to September

Morning meal	Corn *bollo* (coastal bread); boiled plantain; coffee with milk and sugar.
Midday meal	Stew of plantain, manioc, rice, noodles, potatoes, tomatoes, and pieces of beef, chicken, pork, or fish; water with lime and raw sugar.
Evening meal	Boiled rice or plantain or manioc; fried fish; water with lime and raw sugar

April to June and October to December

Morning meal	Coffee with raw sugar; boiled plantain.
Midday meal	Boiled plantain; piece of salted fish; water with raw sugar.
Evening meal	Boiled plantain; water with raw sugar.

FIGURE 9

Daily Meal Schedule for Consumption Units Characterized by Production Cycle Variability

beef without bone	12 pesos a pound
beef with bone	8 pesos a pound
pork with bone	12 pesos a pound
chicken	14 pesos a pound
salted fish	4 to 5 pesos each
rice - fine	4 pesos a pound
rice - regular	3 pesos a pound
potatoes	2 pesos a pound
plantain - large	2 pesos each
plantain - small	1 peso each
egg	1.5 each
fresh fish	7 to 20 pesos each
cooking oil	25 pesos a liter
milk	3 pesos a liter
cheese	14 pesos a pound
coffee	10 pesos a pound
beans	7 pesos a pound
refined sugar	2 pesos a pound
raw sugar	2 pesos a pound
tomato	4 pesos a pound
onions	3 pesos a pound
salt	1 peso a pound

FIGURE 10

Retail Prices of Items Consumed Daily

family. Or about three small plantains can be purchased for each family member. In fact, lesser amounts of all these items are purchased in order to provide some variety in the diet. The idea of massive undernourishment is not new to Colombians since it is widely broadcast that 100 children die daily in Colombia from starvation. In seeking an understanding of the role of cannabis in community life this fact may prove to be quite relevant.

Consumption of Cannabis

There is widespread belief in the efficacy of cannabis mixed with rum and aguardiente and applied to the skin for treatment of pain of the joints and muscles. This practice is present throughout coastal subculture. Testimonies and accounts of cures were collected from government employees, estate administrators, day laborers, in short, the whole social range of the coastal subculture. A puzzling fact, however, is that this mixture and its use for pain is absent from the treatments collected from coastal _curanderos_ or herbal curers of Majagua. The practice of mixing various plant parts (bark, leaves, roots, seeds) of over 25 different plants with rum or aguardiente is common for snake bite, to stop bleeding, and for the treatment of pain. But in all cases the mixture is to be drunk and not applied to the skin. And in no case is cannabis one of the ingredients. Perhaps the explanation is to be found in the fact that herbalists are specialists in certain treatments, for example, snake bite cures or protection from evil curses. In contrast, the

knowledge that cannabis can be used for treatment of pain is widespread and not the exclusive property of _curanderos_. Moreover, the use of cannabis in any form seems to be a recent innovation and the formulas of the _curanderos_ are conceived to be quite ancient in origin (collected in "books" written by the Indians (sic) in the mountains of Spain and brought over by the conquerors in the 15th century, according to the _curanderos_). And it should be remembered that the use of tobacco in this form and for this function is quite old on the coast. The common medicinal use of cannabis might derive analogically from such practice. Tobacco, like cannabis, is assumed to have a variety of curing properties and is not part of the esoteric treatments monopolized by the _curanderos_.

The use of cannabis for smoking is restricted to the lower sector of the coastal subculture, a fact that conforms to reports on the Caribbean (Rubin and Comitas n.d., Rubin 1973, Comitas 1973). In all cases cannabis is smoked in cigarette form. It is first air and sun dried; green cannabis leaves are said to "inflame the head." It is smoked in pure form, unmixed with other substances. The cigarette is rolled in the paper of a commercial tobacco cigarette, since other kinds of paper are said to burn too hot. The cannabis cigarette is generally short and thin. Probably no more than half a gram is contained in these cigarettes.

As mentioned above, the work group of the coastal

subculture composed of unrelated adult males is the setting for the smoking of cannabis. The group is contracted to clean an irrigation canal, weed a field, clear brush from a pasture, weed a garden plot, cut down trees on estates, or cut with shovels the _ramales_ or ditches which bring water to a crop from the irrigation canals. The labor broker is responsible for recruiting and assembling these workers. They assemble in the morning on the estate where they have contracts, talk about girls and dances and drunks, sharpen their machetes or prepare other tools, and smoke a marihuana cigarette. The cigarette is not passed among the workers, although all may smoke cigarettes from the same supply. That is, the cigarette is not passed from person to person but each individual smokes his individual cigarette. The group receives directions from the estate manager and sets about its task. Around 10:00 in the morning the workers may pause again for another marihuana cigarette and then continue working until noon. Work groups which bring alcohol with them to work follow a similar pattern. And tobacco cigarettes are consumed similarly. With them they have in their _mochilas_ or woven carrying bags of _cabuya_ fiber several nesting aluminum pots with a hot stew prepared in the morning by wives, sisters, or daughters. After lunching they stretch out under the branches of a tree for a siesta. Work resumes around 2:00 and another marihuana cigarette may be smoked by each man. Around 4:00 or 5:00 they start for home, where they separate and go to their own homes. In the evening they

meet with neighbors, fellow workers, and labor brokers with whom they drink beer, rum, or aguardiente. But the friends with whom they drink may or may not be the same with whom they spent the working hours of the day.

The marihuana cigarette is called a cigarillo just as are tobacco cigarettes. There is no evidence of a special argot among cannabis consumers. Marihuana cigarettes are not always smoked by workers, depending upon availability which in turn depends upon limited resources. Some informants report that they are unable to work without smoking marihuana. They claim to have no fuerza or strength or they lack the necessary ánimo or spirit for work. But these same workers can be observed to work without cannabis when they have none to smoke. Not all workers smoke cannabis, nor are they encouraged to do so. Disapproval of the nonsmoker is never expressed in work groups, nor is disapproval of the smoker by nonsmokers. "He is an addict" nonsmokers will say, but they do not avoid smokers in town or treat them any special way. At work it is impossible to tell one who is a smoker from one who is not unless consumption is observed. Joseph Schaeffer's (1973) data regarding work patterns of smokers and nonsmokers reveals certain subtle changes in behavior associated with cannabis.

The use of cannabis is found also among certain artisan groups composed of a master artisan and several apprentices. One old man is known locally as the Rey de la marihuana or King of Marihuana. He is an adobe brick maker and uses

cannabis during his working day. He is said to be the best brick maker in town, producing more brick faster than any other brick maker. This claim is made by cannabis consumers and nonconsumers alike, including several upper sector individuals. The apprentices of the old man are similarly consumers of cannabis, and it is he who initiated each of the younger men. Usage patterns are much like those on the estate in that consumption occurs during rest breaks.

A few informants report that they smoke marihuana to relax or to go to sleep in the evenings. Some report that they use cannabis when they wish to think about some problem that is bothering them. These individuals claim that they smoke cannabis, think about the problem, go to sleep, and awake finding easily the solution to the problem. But these reasons do not appear as often as the claim that cannabis reduces fatigue and makes a man tireless. Similarly, it is reported that workers on construction sites in the cities of the coast smoke cannabis during their _agua de panela_ or water with raw sugar breaks during the day.

While most informants report using cannabis for leisure activities such as fiestas the observer was not able to witness this with any frequency. Several informants who live and work in the municipality and were born in Cartegena confirm the report that in that city social clubs exist for the purpose of recreation, and the smoking of cannabis is one of their activities (Subcommittee on Alcoholism and Narcotics 1972:56). In fact, all the female smokers inter-

viewed were born and grew up in that city or in the hinterland areas of the department of Bolivar. In the department of Magdalena, in which Orejones is located, the incidence of female smokers is quite low, and social clubs which consume cannabis during leisure activity are absent.

In reality alcohol is the drug of choice on festive days in this region of Colombia. Moreover, it is an essential element in the reciprocal relationships among male laborers (Gutierrez de Pineda 1958). Informants mention that cannabis is cheaper than alcohol and for this reason is preferred. They also report that cannabis is better than alcohol for sexual relations because the former does not inhibit sexual desire or capacity, whereas alcohol often interferes with these. But these same informants can often be found drinking in the stores and bars in town.

Informants also report the use of cannabis for health maintenance (Fabrega and Manning 1972:243). Cases cited involve men of advanced age who smoked all their lives and have enjoyed excellent health. Credit is given by informants to cannabis smoking. They state that smoking is generally good for one's health. A further use of cannabis involves the use of green leaves crushed and rubbed on the skin for minor pain treatment. Female consumers report that cannabis mixed with water and raw sugar and cooked to form a tea is given to infants to stop excessive crying. These women confirm that female smokers are rare in Magdalena. In the municipality only two could be located. Incidentally, one

female informant reported that women habitually smoke greater amounts of cannabis than do the men. She claimed to smoke up to 20 cannabis cigarettes each day. In contrast men smoke about seven cigarettes daily.

Little information could be gathered concerning the socialization of females into cannabis use patterns. One female was initiated into cannabis use when as an adolescent she went to work in the city of Cartegena as a domestic in the house of an American citizen employed by the Coca Cola Bottling Company in Colombia. This American smoked and sold marihuana, and while he was out on vacation she found a supply of the drug and sampled it for herself. When he returned he noticed it had been disturbed and questioned her, whereupon she admitted experimenting with it. Thereafter the employer invited her to smoke with him when he cared to.

Males are socialized into use at the age of late adolescence with the initiation of adult work patterns. Informants report learning to smoke in the male work group. Informants began smoking cannabis between 12 and 22 years of age and have between 11 and 31 years of experience with the drug. Such learning depends largely upon individual patterns of interaction and individual life experiences since most informants are the only adult males in their families who consume cannabis. No informant reported that his father used the drug. This is not surprising given the nonkin composition of the male work group where sociali-

zation takes place.

All informants are male heads of households which are supported entirely by the work of the household head. Those informants who are peasant farmers are all former day laborers as is generally true of the subculture. And all have through saving, obtaining a cosigner in order to establish credit, and maintaining a good reputation as a _padre de familia_ have been able to buy a piece of land or are _colonos_ who for years have successfully supported a family off the land they invaded and planted. The use of cannabis began in the nonkin male work group for these peasants. So consumers are best described as nonkin groups of landless day laborers, some of whom eventually obtain land.

No informant reported visual distortions, seeing strange things, or having hallucinations while smoking cannabis. This is remarkable given the common belief in the United States that cannabis grown in this region of Colombia is one of the most potent varieties. These informants found comical the reports of hallucinations given them by Peace Corps volunteers who lived in the community several years ago. Informants report that a person who is _debil en la cabeza_, weak in the head, should not use cannabis. They observe that the drug often "turns people crazy," but that these are people who are said to have weak heads. Only one informant reported experiencing negative effects, which he described as a feeling of sleepiness. He recommended cold water poured over the head, eating green bananas, and drinking hot black coffee as

remedies. No subjects were found who had "weak heads" and had stopped cannabis use. These persons may be invented in response to the upper sector notion that cannabis adversely affects the mental functioning of the worker: that is, the concept of the "weak head" may be a counter stigma which has evolved in reaction to institutionalized prejudice.

Before leaving patterns of cannabis consumption, an additional factor regarding consumption patterns of other drugs should be considered given the high correlation in the United States between the use of alcohol and tobacco and the use of cannabis (Subcommittee on Alcoholism and Narcotics 1971:90, National Commission on Marihuana and Drug Abuse 1972:51). Alcohol is easily the most popular of all drugs used in all subcultural groups of the municipio. There are four patterns of use: (1) reciprocal buying and mutual drinking among friends and business associates at cockfights, during the sale of animals, at leisure at stores and bars, etc.; (2) individual drinking by peasants of both subcultures and day laborers of the coastal subculture in the morning before going to work and to a lesser degree during working hours; (3) two to three day _borracheras_ or drunken feasts during fiesta days, family celebrations, or on a whim; and (4) ritual drinking to the point of stupefication for weddings, baptisms, and during wakes.

The first pattern is part of a wider system of social and economic reciprocal relationships. The sale of a cow by a storekeeper to a peasant demands that the former buy

drinks for the latter. A landowner attending a cockfight who meets an employee will purchase drinks for both as part of the patron-client relationship. A peasant who has been given good manioc or corn seed will partly repay his peer with a bottle which they will both share at a store.

The second pattern is largely confined to agricultural workers and peasants. Alcohol is consumed with the morning black coffee. Infrequently day laborers will consume a bottle of rum or aguardiente during the day while working and this is shared just like cannabis and tobacco with their fellows who are expected to reciprocate later. A few day laborers are so fond of aguardiente that a ration of it is part of their contract with an employer. Often these latter day laborers are single men of adult age who are known to be alcoholics. Their employers are mostly family and fictive kin. For the coastal day laborers, consumption of alcohol is prohibitively expensive if done with any frequency. For a day laborer to purchase a bottle of rum or aguardiente is to remove all but three pounds of rice from the table of a family of seven persons. Since that may be the only meal eaten that day, the purchase of alcohol is prohibitive in the extreme.

The third pattern of use is confined to the upper sector of the coastal subculture. Naturally the poor have few resources for binges. The wealthy are famous for the drunken feasts they are fond of throwing. Stories are told and retold in the town of conspicuous consumption, pranks

such as chicken stealing and putting soap in the food for a wedding party, and extended stints in the local brothels. Such _borracheras_ occur every month or so in the municipality and several times during the year, such as the Patron Saint Fiesta, New Year's Eve, Carnival, and Holy Week, wealthy families from several surrounding towns and nearby cities are to be found participating.

The fourth pattern is present through each subculture, but is particularly apparent among the highlanders. Coastal weddings, wakes, and other life crisis events involve some consumption of alcohol. Generally food, sweet cakes, and black coffee predominate on such occasions. In the highlands, life crisis events call for the consumption of quantities of food, _chicha_ or maize beer made on the farm, and aguardiente. Relatives invariably leave such events quite intoxicated. In the coastal subculture this is less frequently the case, except among upper sector families who can afford it.

Tobacco is likewise consumed by all groups in all subcultures. But it is seldom used habitually as in the United States. Cigarettes are most frequently purchased one or two at a time in a _tienda_. Individuals who smoke may do so only once or twice during the day, and then at a fiesta or during an evening of drinking consume an entire pack with friends. At the _borracheras_ of the upper sector tobacco cigarettes are provided together with food and drink for the guests, and on such occasions persons who normally do not smoke tobacco may indulge. Females of all groups in the municipality use alcohol and tobacco only rarely. Females of the

of the upper sector will use both during fiestas and private parties in the home, but only infrequently at other times. Workers on the estates of the lowlands exchange tobacco much as they exchange alcohol and cannabis. Females of advanced age in all groups of the coastal subculture smoke tobacco cigars with the burning end inside of their mouths as is coastal custom.

Consumers of cannabis are invariably also consumers of tobacco and alcohol. The use of each of these drugs is learned in the context of the nonkin male work group and occurs during the period of transition from late adolescence to adult work patterns. As will be discussed in Chapter IV, the reciprocal exchange of cannabis, tobacco, and alcohol among day laborers is an instrumental activity related to labor recruitment, the mobilization of work crews for the estates, and the expenditure of energy in productive activity.

Cannabis and Social Structure

The elements of community stand in hierarchical relationships one to another, but these are not "social class" relationships as they are understood in the industrial world. In the preceding pages an empirical analysis of the processes of production, distribution, and consumption was undertaken as these reflect the social structure of Orejones. The phrase "social sector" was used rather than "social class" in discussing broad social categories in order to avoid the ethnocentric connotations associated with the social class concept.

The indices of social class normally employed in social analysis in industrial societies will not serve in the present instance. For example, on the basis of indices such as education and housing the day laborer on an estate and the highland peasant would occupy the same social class. But as was seen above these two groups are characterized by distinctive social relationships with other elements in the community, distinctive diets, distinctive forms of family organization, distinctive work habits, and distinctive roles in the processes of production, distribution, and consumption. Similarly, the cattle estate employee and the rice estate employee might be considered in a social class analysis to be "middle class" since they are both employees and receive fixed salaries. Yet these kinds of employees have quite different origins in the historical conditions of the community, have distinctive social relationships to other elements in the community, distinctive diets, distinctive work habits, and distinctive roles in the processes of production, distribution, and consumption.

For these reasons the empirical determination of broad social categories is preferred over the social class concept. The process of the empirical determination of broad social categories, called sectors in this analysis, is an examination of social relationship reflected in activities and patterns of interaction discussed previously. The basis of the analysis is the determination of exchange relationships which unite elements of the community into interdepen-

dent groups, as elucidated for social scientists by Mauss (1954), Malinowski (1965), Oliver (1949), Polanyi (1970), Polanyi, Arensberg, and Pearson (1957), and Levi-Strauss (1969). Mauss (1954:79) has phrased the basic and essential nature of exchange succinctly:

> When two groups of men meet they may move away or in case of mistrust or defiance they may resort to arms; or else they can come to terms.

The manner in which men come to terms is universal and always involves the exchange of valued items such as services, materials, and personnel (Mauss 1954:3).

In basing this analysis upon the exchange relationship no attempt is being made to ignore Sahlins' (1965:140) contention that exchange in primitive societies plays a different role than economic flow in modern industrial societies. While this is true at one level of analysis (comparison among models), it is irrelevant at the level of empirical description and model construction. For as Mauss (1954) and Levi-Strauss (1969) have observed, the exchange always carries with it the obligation to repay, and it always entails the enhancement of value of an object, service, or person exchanged. These facts enable us to consider the consequence of exchange to be everywhere similar, i.e. the establishment of regular and continuous bonds of interdependency among those groups so engaged. Of course examples such as diffusion of an item from one group to another or theft of an item do not constitute exchange relationships, for their consequences are not those of the obligation to

repay and the enhancement of value of the exchange item. As Arensberg (1972:15) points out, the reciprocal exchange relationship is not axiomatic; it is a systems-product. This analysis asks if and where continuous exchange relationships exist. From the answers to these questions it can be concluded that significant social interdependency or the absence of such a condition is the product of the relationship. This is true whether the relationship be one of generalized exchange, balanced exchange, or negative exchange (Sahlins 1965:147-149).

Figure 11 summarizes reciprocal exchange relationships discussed in this chapter. The double arrow connecting highland peasants and highland shopkeepers indicates that objects such as food stuffs, services such as credit and godparenthood, and money are regularly exchanged among the parties to this social relationship. Similarly related are the coastal peasant and the coastal shopkeeper, the worker on the shopkeeper's farm and the shopkeeper, and the owner of the rice estate and the administrator and employees of the rice estate. In the case of the double arrow connecting the landowner and the government employee, the professional and the landowner, the artisan and the day laborer, the coastal peasant and the day laborer, and the cattle estate employee and the day laborer, the exchange includes the exchange of personnel in the form of marriage and mating, as well as the exchange of goods, services, and money.

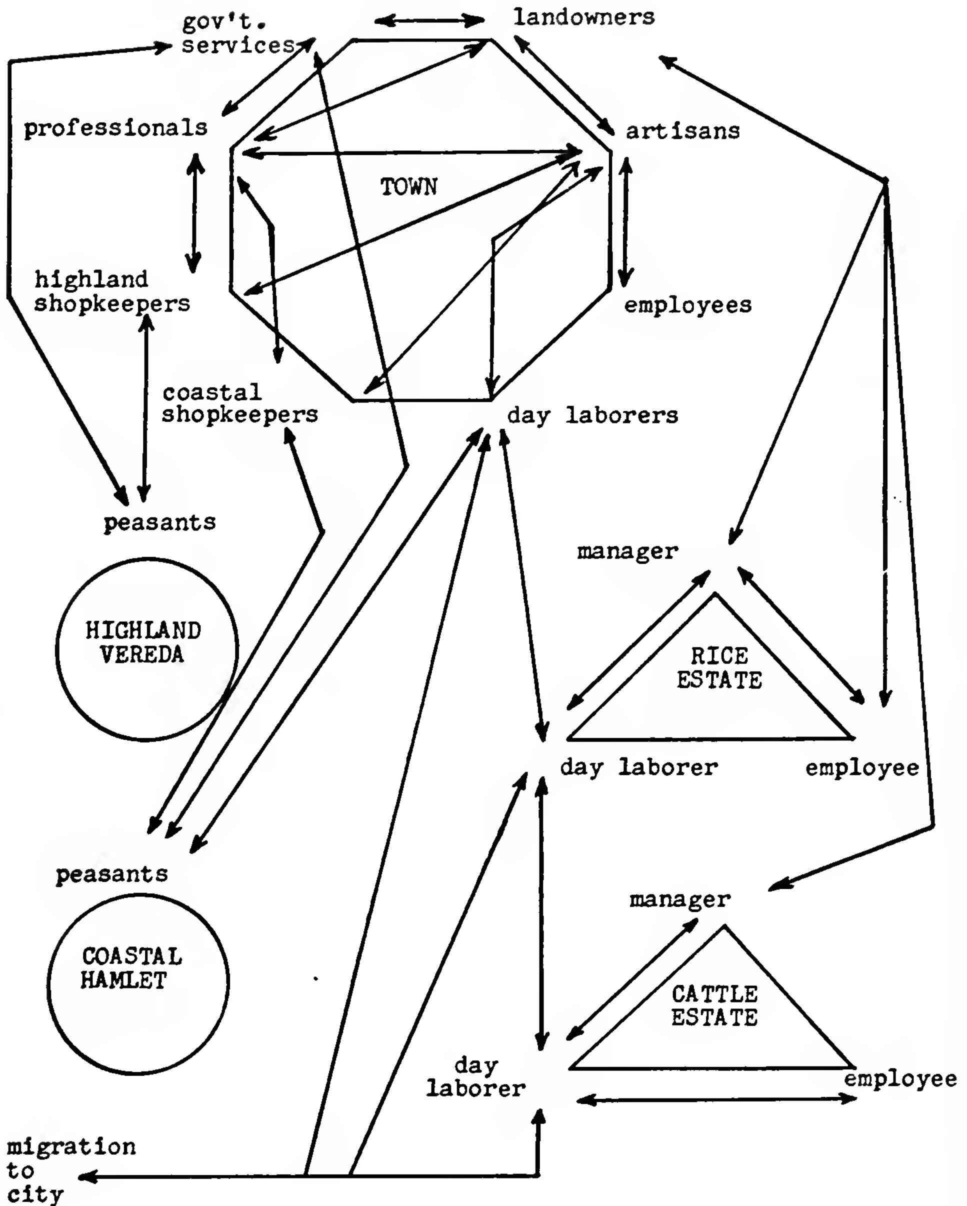

FIGURE 11

Reciprocal Relations Between
Town, Estate, Hamlet, and Vereda

The result of this analysis is a social structure characterized by three broad categories: an Upper Sector, a Coastal Lower Sector, and a Highland Lower Sector.

The first of these groupings is the Upper Sector composed of landowners, professionals, rice estate managers and employees, government employees, and coastal storekeepers. It was seen in Chapter II that the ancient elite of the region dominated human and nonhuman resources up until the coming of the United Fruit Company. Among other effects the Company created through its structure and functioning a new middle sector composed of employees of the corporation. The middle sector of the years of the banana boom was prosperous and exchange relationships among this group and the ancient elite group flourished. Many middle sector families became wealthy and today are landowners in the former banana zone. Others watched their fortunes fall as the banana ceased to be the "green gold" of the region. Some of the traditional elite were likewise ruined by the exit of the United Fruit Company. Thus, the mobility of many middle sector families achieved during the 68 years of the banana boom qualified many of these for alliances with upper sector families. With the exit of the Company the two sectors merged into a single Upper Sector united by ties of marriage and fictive kinship established during the years of prosperity. Such alliances from the standpoint of the traditional elite can be seen to have been less than advantageous, but at the time of the boom they clearly were perceived as such and were frequent. Hence the middle sector

was absorbed into the Upper Sector of today and clearly functions as part of that sector. As was pointed out earlier the manager and the employees of a rice estate are often filial, affinal, and fictive kin of the landowner. Likewise the professionals, landowners, and government employees are related similarly.

In contrast stands the cattle estate and its personnel. The landowner and administrator are members of the same Upper Sector as the owner of the rice estate, his manager, and his employees. But on the cattle estate the full-time employees are not generally related by filial or affinal kin ties to the landowner. Rather solely the patron-client relationship unites the manager and the full-time employees. This involves the exchange of services for services (work for wages, usufruct rights to a roza plot, education for one's offspring, and credit at the estate commissary or in the stores of the town). Such a traditional patron-client relationship does not characterize exchange relations on the rice estate, rather a considerably higher wage is paid. The distinction between the two kinds of exchange relationships points to the importance of viewing the cattle estate managers and employees as belonging to a different social sector from the landowners, rice estate employees, rice estate managers, professionals, and government employees. In fact the cattle estate employees are recruited from the Lower Sector of the coastal subculture. Their filial and affinal ties are to the homes of day laborers. And both groups have

their roots in the day laborer ranks of the banana industry days.

The day laborers, cattle estate employees, artisans and skilled workers, coastal shopkeeper and coastal peasants constitute a broad sector that will be called the Coastal Lower Sector. When in Chapter IV the life cycle of the male of the Coastal Lower Sector is considered it will be seen how individuals are recruited into each of these statuses in the productive units of the community. Recognizing that all coastal peasants have worked as day laborers during their lives and that most have obtained land only in the present generation, and that all artisans and skilled workers have their origins in the day laborer homes of the community and have likewise worked solely for wages for a number of years, the grouping of these diverse kinds of statuses into a single social sector is understandable. For the social relationships which characterize each of these statuses are that a patrón is chosen from within the Coastal Lower Sector and not from within the ranks of the Upper Sector. The day laborers stand in a relationship of client to patron with the labor broker who is one of their number as do artisans. An exception is the cattle estate employee who finds his patron among the cattle estate managers. These latter statuses are filled by recruitment from the ranks of the Upper Sector or from regions where cattle raising is likewise an important industry. The artisan begins his career as a day laborer and apprentice to a master craftsman who himself

came from a day laboring household. Their relationship is one of patron to client. The peasant of the coastal subculture is uniformly a former day laborer himself and his father before him. Land aquisition is a relatively recent phenomenon resulting from invasion or from the saving of wages during the United Fruit Company days and the establishment of good credit. Finally, reciprocal exchange relationships which unite members of this social sector include marriage and <u>compadrazgo</u> relationships. Thus, filial, affinal, and fictive kin relationships establish these diverse statuses as members of the same social sector.

The personnel of the <u>parcela</u> discussed earlier in this chapter are likewise members of the Coastal Lower Sector. They can be seen to constitute an unusual kind of social form brought into existence only recently by the actions of the government and the circumstances of the exit of the United Fruit Company. They are merely reconstituted day laborers who for the first time in their lives have land and are defined as peasant members of cooperative production units. The same filial, affinal, and fictive kinship relationships unite them with other members of the Coastal Lower Sector.

The third social sector is composed of highland peasants and highland shopkeepers and is called the Highland Lower Sector. This category includes individuals who are economically quite powerful in the life of the community, the highland shopkeepers, but who stand socially below the Upper

Sector of the town. Mates are drawn by coastal shopkeepers from families of shopkeepers and peasants in the interior. Highland peasants take mates within the highland vereda and establish bonds of fictive kinship with their neighbors and shopkeepers. Patrons and fictive kin are sought within this social sector and never outside of it. From what is known of the relationship between shopkeepers and peasants in other parts of the world (Arensberg and Kimball 1968), it is expected that the peasants and shopkeepers here will increasingly become involved in mate exchange but at present only one highland shopkeeper has taken a wife from the peasant families and few highland peasant offspring are employed as apprentices in the stores. This may be due to the recent migration of this group to the region and the relative abundance of land to be colonized.

The hierarchical relationships among the three social sectors are best visualized as forming a triangle: the Upper Sector placed at the apex and each of the lower sectors placed at the intersection of one of the sides and the base.

Figure 12 illustrates the cannabis networks present in the community, the reciprocal exchange relationships which involve the exchange of cannabis as part of the production, distribution, and consumption cycle. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the highland peasants are the commercial producers of cannabis and they sell to commercial distributors made up of professionals, government employees, landowners, rice estate managers and rice estate employees.

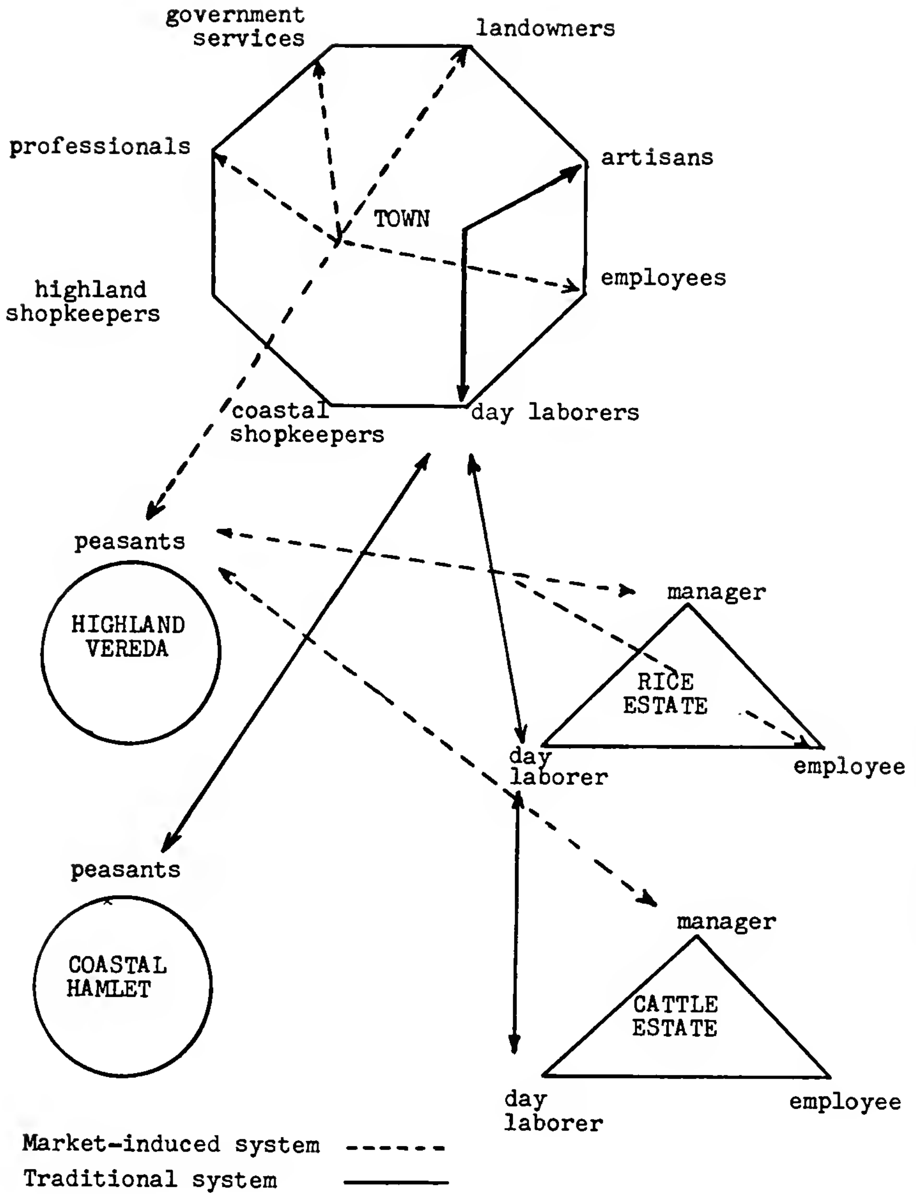

FIGURE 12

Cannabis Networks in the Traditional
and the Market-Induced Systems

That is to say that the highland cultivator sells to the Upper Sector of the town. These buyers then retail cannabis to the urban markets of the coast. This cannabis network is best called the market-induced system, for the patterns of interaction established by these exchange relationships centering on cannabis are totally novel and atypical of normal relationships between the Upper Sector and the Highland Lower Sector. As can be seen from a comparison of Figure 11 and Figure 12 these two social sectors normally do not establish exchange relationships. Therefore, the market-induced system controlling commercial production and distribution of cannabis must be considered marginal and deviant.

In contrast, the traditional system of cannabis production, distribution, and consumption creates no novel or atypical relationships among the interacting participants. The exchange relationships which exist among coastal peasants, day laborers, and artisans include the exchange of mates, ritual parenthood, food, alcohol, tobacco, and cannabis. Cannabis is merely one element in a number of elements which unite these participants in the exchange relationship, and as such it conforms well to normal patterns of interaction. Therefore, the traditional system controlling petty production, distribution, and consumption of cannabis must be considered typical and a logical expression of community social structure.

In the following chapter the life cycles of the Highland Lower Sector and the Coastal Lower Sector personnel will be

discussed in order to explore more closely the relationship between cannabis and social relationships. For it will become apparent that there exist important structural differences between the two life cycles, and that these differing structures account for the fact that Coastal Lower Sector people smoke cannabis and Highland Lower Sector people do not.

CHAPTER IV

LIFE CYCLES AND THE REPLICATION OF STRUCTURE

Moore (1973:2) contends that most intellectual treatments of the transmission of culture are limited by their conceptualization as an education or socialization process by which elders convey through the medium of symbols the content of a cultural tradition. Following his lead, this analysis conceives of the replication of societal forms in terms of choices made within a field of interindividual relationships. The field of interindividual relationships provides certain constraints and incentives which canalize choice for each generation. Successive choices provide for the replication of the social structure. The ways in which such canalization occurs will become clear when the life cycles of elements of the community are examined.

The decision or choice to smoke cannabis or not to smoke is one product of the nature of social structure in the community. The perpetuation of these structures and the choices they provide is the focus of this analysis. Central to the analysis is the concept of claiming (Kimball and McClellan 1966:232-235). For the constraints and incentives which the social structure provides that affect the nature of choice for each generation consist exactly in the process of claiming. Claiming is the dyadic relationship which exists between two actors that play the role of claimants: one acts as a sponsor and one acts as an

initiate, but each must claim the other. The stages of the human life cycle at which such claiming relationships exist vary greatly from culture to culture, but in all cultures the sponsor and initiate must claim each other at certain prescribed times. Such relationships may occur several times in the life cycle. He who was once an initiate eventually may be a sponsor. A vast array of possible claiming relationships may exist in a society, but certain of these are patterned by successive choices of previous generations and are seen as more attractive choices by both sponsors and initiates. Successive claims provide for the replication of social structure over time.

Cannabis use is initiated among males in association with the claiming relationship which occurs in the transition to adulthood in the Coastal Lower Sector. Females and males of the Coastal Lower Sector have complementary, yet distinct, life cycles which are quite different from females and males of the Highland Lower Sector. In each case certain structural relationships exist which influence the choices made by each generation. Since males and females in each subculture theoretically have equal opportunity to initiate cannabis use, the four life cycles will be discussed below in order to point up the significant structural differences which set the Coastal Lower Sector male off from the female of the same social sector and the male and female of the Highland Lower Sector.

The Coastal Lower Sector

In 1972 only 70 infants were born in the free public clinic in Majagua; most Coastal Lower Sector children are born in their parents' home where their births are attended by a midwife. From the day of birth until the birth of the next sibling the infant of either sex is closely attended by the mother as he or she passes through the stages of "lap" child and "knee baby" (Moore 1973:40). Baptism occurs during infancy and godparents for the child are chosen from among the labor brokers, successful peasants, and artisans of the subculture. For most members of this social sector baptism is their only contact with formal Catholicism.

With the birth of another infant the child makes the transition from "knee baby" to "yard child" and comes increasingly under the care of older siblings. As a "yard child" the symbols of sexual identity are given, including short trousers and shirts for boys and short dresses for girls, by parents, godparents, or other relatives. The "yard child" is initiated in toilet etiquette by older siblings at this stage and socialization takes place in the context of play in the patio and house area among siblings.

At the age of seven the male of this social sector makes the transition to "street child" and the world of nonkin peer groups. But female children do not make such a debut at this age.

Females of the Coastal Lower Sector

The female from age seven until adolescence remains closely tied to her mother's kitchen, to the irrigation ditches where clothes are washed, and to the daily round of shopping, cooking, and cleaning. She enters the street in which her brothers play only in the company of her mother or when asked to run errands. There she briefly and temporarily enters the public world where she meets friends and neighbors. But no large blocks of time are devoted to nonkin until she first "goes out" to promenade in the street and plaza with a group of female peers. This does not occur until adolescence for females. The Coastal Lower Sector female generally does not enter school. Some attend school for one or two years so that many adult females of this sector learn to read and write haltingly from relatives in order to sign their names and do simple sums at the market. The labor of a female child between seven and 12 is valuable since it is upon her that the duties of caring for "yard children" fall, as well as the errands to the stores, market, and neighboring households and the assistance given in the kitchen, laundry area, and house.

Confirmation into the Catholic church occurs at age 12. Coastal Lower Sector girls are rarely confirmed, since this ritual and much of the Catholic ceremonial cycle is the provenience of the Upper Sector families. The event which marks the transition to adolescence for the Coastal

Lower Sector female is the initiation of visiting among a group of nonkin peers. At about the age of 12 such groups have evolved out of repeated meetings in the street while on errands, out of brief school friendships, and out of neighborhood visiting. Adolescent aged girls will increasingly demand to be permitted to stroll with their friends in the streets and plaza of Majagüa. Insistent requests soon bring success, and dressed in their finest clothes they join hands or wrap arms about each other's waists and venture into the public world of the promenade.

The promenade is a shortlived activity lasting from around 6:30 P.M. to around 8:00 P.M. found in many parts of South America (Harris 1971, Vargas Lloas 1967). Throughout the event the females maintain close physical contact by holding hands and putting arms about each other. The anxiety of their first appearance in the public world is probably mitigated by such physical assurance. Linked together in this manner they stroll about the plaza, greet friends, make new friends, and receive the admiration of adolescent males.

Through this experience the Coastal Lower Sector female is gradually introduced in a formal manner to male siblings of their female peers. Short conversations and weeks of watching each other evolve into invitations to festival dances, to drink a soft drink together, or simply to meet the following evening. When the adolescent female accepts such an invitation it means only that she and

several friends will come to the dance together, go to the store together for a soft drink, or be waiting at a certain bench together for conversation. Such assignations are always peer group functions. At the dance, for example, the female adolescent who accepts such an invitation promises only to break away for a moment from her girl friends and permit a dance or two. Out of such brief contacts over a period of several years adolescents may develop a dating relationship.

A dating relationship means that the male adolescent freely initiates conversation during the evening promenade, may invite the female to have soft drinks at nearby stores, and may offer gifts such as cigarettes, costume jewelry, or a scarf. The young man may also call at her home and escort her and her girl friend or female siblings to the dances held during the festival events of the yearly ceremonial calendar. These include the Patron Saint fiesta of _Nuestra Señora del Carmen_ on July 16, the National Independence Day of July 20, the Imaculate Conception of December 8, the Carnaval Week from March 3rd to 7th, and the Sacred Heart of Jesus on June 29. Festivals always provide the opportunity for adolescent males and females to cement dating relationships through public appearances and ritual behavior.

At public dances held in the dance salons of the town or in private dances held in the homes of certain families, groups of adult chaperones are invariably present. They watch over not only their own offspring but those of all

townspeople. But *la cumbia* dances are different.

The dance called *la cumbia* is said to be derived from the indigenous Carib Indians and was performed during their cooperative working-drinking-dancing events called *chaguas*, discussed in Chapter II. *La cumbia* is a round dance held in the poorer neighborhoods of the town or in isolated patches of woods nearby. It is publicly secret in that adults of the town are not supposed to know when and where it will be held. But in fact everyone knows, for word is passed during the daytime celebrations of the festival. At around 6:30 P.M. the adolescents begin to assemble at the prearranged site to dance *la cumbia*.

The dancing begins with a long cane flute solo verse played by an old man who has been cajoled and bribed with gifts of liquor to provide the music for the evening. Several other adults have been recruited to play the drums. These men are well respected musicians from the Coastal Lower Sector who each year protest being tapped for service at *la cumbia* but nevertheless play for the dance each year. The long lilting wail of the flute signals the girls to light their wax candles, six or seven of which have been tied in a bundle, and to form their circle about the musicians. With them come adolescent males who stand at their sides. At the conclusion of the flute solo the drums come in and the flute picks up the second verse. With the first drum beat the participants emit a loud shout, *Alliii*, and the dancing begins.

The couples move in a circle about the musicians. The girls dance a quick and even rhythm, one following behind the other immediately ahead, their bearing dignified and their carriage erect and proud. The males dance in the same quick step in smaller epicircles about their female partners. Their bearing is the opposite of that of the females, for they twist and turn, bend at the waist, leap into the air, and hold their arms above their heads so as to encircle their partners. In this form the dance proceeds, the females holding candles strutting in a large turning circle while the males excitedly turn about the individual females in small circles.

During the evening couples will have the opportunity to advance their relationship to engagement. Coitus is frequently the result of the intense interaction of the evening as the dancers drift in and out of the light provided by the candles. For here there are only peers and the musicians. La cumbia is a time for courting couples to formally commit themselves to each other. Such a commitment may be in the form of a promise to marry or mate, or it may be in the form of sexual intercourse. The result is generally the same.

The ceremonial cycle brings adolescent males and females into intense interaction and permits mutual agreements to mating and marriage. A young man reveals his commitment to his father who in turn will pay a visit to the home of the young girl and sponsor his son's request for the girl. The boy's father usually brings a bottle of rum and the men dis-

cuss the engagement most of the evening while the females of the household are excluded. If the young girl is pregnant the visit may not be a pleasant one. If the girl is under 15 years of age and pregnant her father generally threatens the young man with prison, since coitus with a female under 15 is illegal. The boy's father is accused of raising his son badly, of producing a malcriado, and the unfortunate father must bear this accusation and offer arguments in defense of his son and himself. In such a situation the boy's father can be forced to pay a huge sum of money, which may mean the sale of his house, land, or crops. So the accusations are borne with dignity, and an agreement is sought. A free union is the result of such a drastic situation. If the young girl is not pregnant a formal wedding in the Catholic church may be planned involving marriage coparents, a wedding dinner, and fees paid to the town notary and the priest. Such a decision is not typical of the Coastal Lower Sector and many couples live in free unions.

Upon entering the mated state the female of the Coastal Lower Sector may leave the home of her parents and come to live in the home of her mate's parents, or the couple may come to live with the bride's parents. After a few months, if space is scarce as it generally is, the young man will rent a house in one of the poorer neighborhoods. There he will move his new family. This is not possible until he has obtained good employment, which means until he has found a labor broker who will put him on a work crew. During this

time the first child is born, and then the second, and the female has fully launched into her own household. The Coastal Lower Sector female has only a brief visit in the public world, for with the birth of her own children she is tied once more to the kitchen of the nuclear family. Washing clothes at the irrigation canal and walking in the park in the evening will be her only contact with the nonkin public world.

Young families move several times before settling down depending upon whether or not the household head can earn a reliable wage. Houses grow by acretion as rooms are added to accommodate family expansion. A simple _bareque_ of mud and wattle often becomes inadequate. If the household head can afford it he will purchase concrete block and adobe brick, stockpiling these until he has enough for an addition to his house. Older houses are not torn down, but built upon. When a new house is to be built it is constructed around the old one which the family still occupies. Only when the new roof goes on will the old house be dismantled. But building a new house or adding on to an old one demands that the house is purchased by the Coastal Lower Sector males earnings.

Most frequently a man's earning capacity does not permit such growth of a household shelter. The simple _bareque_ must be used unless more income can be found, and it grows increasingly crowded with each new birth in the family. The adult female may then seek work as a laundress or domestic servant for the household of one of the Upper Sector families. With both spouses working the additions to the house may be possible,

but the adolescent daughter who tends the younger children while her mother is working will soon find an adolescent male interested in her. In a short period of time there will be no children to assist the adult female with cooking, cleaning, and washing. Then the adult female may ask for and be granted several female grandchildren to foster in her home. Such foster children also make able assistants with cooking, cleaning, shopping, and washing clothes for an older couple. Less frequently a married or mated daughter and her spouse stay on with the older couple. And still less frequently the older couple are brought to the household of a married or mated son or daughter.

The favored activity of an older couple, however, is opening a small _tienda_ in their neighborhood, becoming street vendors of fresh vegetables and fruits, or opening a stall in the market building. Widows frequently open stalls in the market or open kitchens nearby where they prepare food for the working men.

When the woman of the Coastal Lower Sector dies she is formally mourned for nine days by all of her kindred and is buried in a simple grave in the town cemetery. The grave looks small and insignificant beside the tombs of the wealthy, and is located at some distance from these expensive monuments. The grave of the Coastal Lower Sector woman is a concrete slab with a wooden cross at the head, and the name and date of death of the deceased scratched into the still moist concrete with a stick. The only decorations such graves have are

the product of the annual velorio or wake held to mark the anniversary of the death. Surviving daughters, sisters, and granddaughters visit the cemetery after paying the priest to say a mass for the deceased and burn candles about the perimeter of the concrete slab. In death as in life the Coastal Lower Sector woman is the focal point of private domestic rituals.

Males of the Coastal Lower Sector

Early childhood socialization experiences of the male of this sector are like those of the female discussed above. The male child takes on his sexual identity with the transition to "yard child" and is dressed in short pants and short sleeved shirts until the age of seven.

At seven years the male transition to "street child" is more marked than in the case of the female. When he goes to the bathing area at the river with his parents, a favorite activity in the late afternoon, he will for the first time be taken by his father to the male bathing place el puesto de los hombres. He looks forward to this day when he can make the change from the female bathing area where he is supervised by older females to the male area where he is to wash himself with his older male siblings and his father. The transition is not ceremonialized, but its significance is underscored by congratulatory joking among all the males present. This transition, therefore, involves physical movement from one area of sex segregated activity to another.

The male "street child" when he puts on his long trousers

and changes bathing areas enters a different and public world. He leaves the household compound for increasingly longer periods of time and joins a group of peers in sex segregated play in the streets, in the plaza, in the nearby fields, in the irrigation ditches, and on the dusty dirt roads leading into the countryside. The male street child has the run of the town and countryside. He learns to make slingshots and hunt birds, to play soccer in the plaza and in the streets, to swim in the irrigation ditches, to build and fly kites, to shoot marbles, to stalk and club iguanas and bring them home for his older female siblings to prepare, to locate and climb fruit trees and bring the fruit down to his companions, and numerous other boyhood skills. All of these and much more are learned from his nonkin peers.

As a "street child" the young male may be expected to attend school for five hours each day. The children of artisans are encouraged to stay in school until they complete at least the _primaria_ or the first five years. But most street children are not so encouraged. Increasingly, as they play in their peer group, they are drawn into the household routine of their mothers. Errands of all kinds are the duty of the "street child" as well as carrying firewood, and water to fill the earthen jar in the patio-kitchen area. Once the peasant or day laborer male child of the coastal subculture has learned to sign his name and read slightly and do simple sums, generally the second or third year of schooling, he leaves school and devotes his full energies to the acti-

vities of the household unit and his peer play group. He continues in this manner until about the age of 12.

The transition from "street child" to adolescent is not marked by ceremonial or ritual activities. As the street child scurries with his companions about the town and countryside he observes his older siblings in their adolescent peer groups. The best locations for playing are dominated by the older age group. A particular delight is taken from pummeling the soccer ball in the mud and water when it rains. When a rain comes up the street children group may run to the plaza to organize such a game, but they soon learn that the plaza is the arena of activity and the territory of the adolescent aged group. When the adolescents arrive the street children must very quickly give up the highly valued center sidewalks of the plaza and continue their game in the muddy street nearby. Early on the street child learns that power resides in the senior members of his society. His interest in making the transition to such a privileged position is heightened as the older group demonstrate time after time their dominance.

As he matures the street child watches the adolescents gradually cease to dominate the choice play areas, as they come to spend more and more time in the stores, bars, and poolrooms of the town. For the adolescent is maturing into the world of work, marriage, and parenthood. The adolescent is also watching the next oldest group of males as they enjoy themselves in the various bars and return home to meals and beds prepared for them by women to whom they are mated, rather than women to whom they are related.

The street child one day discovers there are no older contenders for the favored play area in the plaza. Moreover, he soon notices a group of younger boys playing nearby with a soccer ball. He will be careful to alert his fellows, his age mates, to this growing threat to their rights to the choice play area.

Between the ages of 12 to 14 Coastal Lower Sector males gather primarily in the late afternoon and early evening with age mates. Usually the morning hours are spent working at odd jobs about the town or in his father's fields, if his father owns or rents land. Males begin to partly assume a wage earning role at about this age through the combined pressures of his peer group and parental urging. Parental pressure can only be indirect at this point, for the child is never ejected forcefully from the home. Invitations from his father to accompany him to the fields or the job, hints about his coming into manhood from his mother are the kinds of pressures applied. But the most influential pressure comes from among his peers. Some explanation is needed of the nature of this peer pressure.

The town plaza is the arena of varied activities ranging from religious processions to casual gossiping in the late evening. But the adolescent males of the town clearly claim possession of this area during the late afternoon and early evening hours. It is here that adolescent aged males engage in the harmless provocative play banter of the young. Older males call such young men _cocacolas_, meaning that those who

hang around the benches of the plaza and drink the American soft drink rather than beer or liquor. Their loud laughter, shouting, and pranks are ignored by the older males, but despite mock bravado and boistrous behavior, the adolescents are quite aware of their disparaging title of cocacolas.

After dinner when the people of the town come out for an evening walk around the perimeter of the plaza the adolescents of the lower sector are relatively inconspicuous. The giggling groups of adolescent girls, holding hands and walking with an air of deliberate casualness about the plaza, are an object of amusement and are sometimes taunted. But the stream of older couples, adult women with babies, and Upper Sector strollers inhibits any contacts among the two sex segregated groups. It is not until around 8:00 P.M. when the strollers begin to disperse that such contacts are initiated. The males furtively talk about the girls and attempt to shame one of their number into initiating conversation with one of the female clusters. They walk about, lounge on the benches, or go to get a soft drink with the peso or two their father, older brother, or padrino has given them to spend. In general, they affect a look of extreme disinterest yet watchful attention, a most awkward combination. Conversations may be initiated through a female sibling of one of the groups, who acts as a liaison for an interested yet shy brother and his group of friends. Such contacts are fleeting and the girls must be home by 8:30 P.M. The cocacolas are soon left in the plaza, alone except for a few grazing burros and groups of gossiping

elders of the town. Then the mock bravado of the late afternoon is affected once again. The conversation turns to acts of daring adventure. Manuel suggests that they steal a chicken and cook it down by the river. Pedro observes that such an activity would be dangerous and foolhearty. He suggests, rather, that they buy a bottle of rum and go down by the river and drink it together. But between them they can put together only a few pesos, the gifts of older male siblings, fathers, and padrinos. Nothing stronger than cocacola can be obtained so they may disperse. The continued repetition of this and similar scenes convince the members of the peer group that to lack money is to hobble themselves to their parental households.

As the group progresses through the ages of adolescence, therefore, they will increasingly seek work opportunities. In the main these efforts are in the interest of obtaining money for activities within their peer group. The lure of the saloon and the world of adult manhood that it represents is a strong influence. But there is another influence. That is the attraction of the strolling groups of females who grace the plaza each evening between 6:30 P.M. and 8:00 P.M. Through the casual introductions to female siblings of male members of the peer group they soon discover interesting and eligible females who are neither relatives nor first cousins. Casual introductions lead to invitations to the public dances during the festivals of the yearly ceremonial calendar. As explained above, this dating pattern

gives way to invitations to la cumbia and to the possibility of engagement or pregnancy and the common outcome of marriage or consensual union.

The young man is therefore interested in obtaining spending money. Work opportunity existing in the town is well monopolized by the adult aged males. The adolescent in search of work is frequently frustrated in his quest, and consequently roams farther and farther afield. It is at this age that the characteristic coastal migration pattern begins. Together with a companion or two the adolescent day laborer sets out to travel the length and breadth of the coast.

Such a pattern is common but it is not universal to the Coastal Lower Sector. A number of avenues of employment exist, and these can be traveled depending upon the youth's training and the advice he receives from his parents and peer group. Theoretically, the father of a youth can sponsor him to the labor broker, el hombre que indica. A few youths are thus found at work early in their lives. But the bulk of the work crews in the town and countryside operate at full capacity already. The mechanized harvest leaves household heads and their adolescent offspring looking for work. So such opportunities are rare. On certain cattle estates the offspring of vaqueros and ordinarios are employed, but this depends upon the inclination of the patrón. Certainly such a situation provides the best opportunity for gaining an education, for a teacher is provided for employee offspring by many estate owners.

Another avenue that may be traveled is that of apprenticeship to a tradesman: potters, brickmakers, carpenters, etc. Such an artisan will take on young apprentices several times during his lifetime. If the young man is an <u>ahijado</u> or godson or if he is a <u>sobrino</u> or nephew the chances are good that the artisan will accept him as an apprentice, if it is possible to do so. Other adults who petition on behalf of their sons stand less chance of such a favor. The young apprentice works from four to eight years for the master doing the heavy and monotonous tasks. He is frequently paid a daily wage though sometimes given food instead. His performance is judged in terms of his productivity and his <u>respecto</u> or respectful submissiveness to the directions of the skilled master. If the young apprentice proves himself properly he will find himself launched in a career of his own, often working as a <u>socio</u> or partner of the master, but more often given credit, job references, and the reputation which only an established master can provide. Still, few young males of the Coastal Lower Sector have such an opportunity, for few can count master craftsmen among their godfathers and uncles.

The majority of the male offspring of the Coastal Lower Sector migrate to other municipalities in search of agricultural labor or to the cities in search of work. In this context the young man comes to rely increasingly upon the nonkin relationships which he learned as a street child. At first he may not travel far, and may accept employment in a few nearby municipalities. In this way he obtains some spending money, buys some fine clothing, treats his peers to drinks,

and buys a scarf, some cigarettes, or costume jewelry for a favorite girl friend. Such expenses are neverending and the Coastal Lower Sector male finds them particularly rewarding. Such a pattern has led Reichel-Dolmatoff (1954:312) to highlight the attitudes toward dress of the coastal day laborer as a distinctive subcultural trait, the importance of which in the mind of the coastal day laborer is greater than the kind of food he eats, the repair of his house, his health, or his education. Certainly this characterization is borne out by the writer's personal observations. Repeated purchases of new clothes are one of the great joys of the male day laborer. Shirts and trousers of expensive and fine material are worn at all times and whenever possible. A man working to repair a tractor frequently wears a fine imported American cotton sport shirt, a pair of imported "double knit" trousers, and white shoes. These become covered with grease after several days, are cleaned and worn again, only to become ragged and ugly very quickly. The entire outfit is thrown away, and the man purchases an entirely new and equally expensive and fine outfit. Young workers, adolescents, are perhaps most typified by such behavior. Weeding a garden patch, cutting an irrigation ditch, cleaning brush from a field with a machete, or working concrete and bricks are tasks that are all performed in clothes that an American worker might think more appropriate to a Saturday night dance or movie.

The concept of prestige in the Coastal Lower Sector is expressed in other ways besides dress. Concern with showing

the proper atención or hospitality to one's visitors and guests is another expression of prestige. Visitors are invariably served a tinto or hot black coffee upon arrival at the host's household. This is necessary but hardly sufficient. Food, alcohol, and soft drinks are commonly offered as well. The household is a private world. Visiting is an invasion of this private space, and calls forth ceremonial behavior. Visitors are rarely unknown and are almost always related in some manner to one or more members of the household unit, but they are not members of the unit and their presence introduces an element of disorder and demands ritualized interaction. Receiving a labor broker in one's home, who may be the compadre of one's children, is a time for such ceremonial behavior. The patrón of the household head, a local politician, or the school teacher all call forth such concern with proper atención on the part of the Coastal Lower Sector member.

The concern with such elements of prestige on the part of the adolescent of this sector marks the beginning of the transition from childhood to adulthood. There are no formal rites of passage which mark this transition. It occurs when the young man takes leave of his home and his parents and travels with nonkin companions in search of wage labor. He returns regularly for the important events of the festival calendar and for important household events, often traveling several hundred kilometers, and at these times he will have the opportunity to display some of the fruits of his quest for full adult status: his clothing, his largess at the stores and bars, and the gifts he can provide to family and friends.

Through separation from his family the young man will demonstrate that he has embarked upon the transitional state of the rite of passage or the period of liminality which precedes his incorporation into full adult status (Van Gennep 1960, Turner 1969, Chapple and Coon 1942).

The transitional period may last several years and the young man may travel the length and breadth of the coast working in a variety of occupations. But transition to adulthood is not achieved until the young male forms his own household and procreates children. Until that time the young male continues to interact with other, single males of the community in the bars, stores, and work groups traversed in the course of the day. During his travels the young male meets many eligible young females in many different towns and cities of the coast. By taking one of these for his mate and providing her with a household apart from that of his or her parental household, he makes the final step in achieving full adult status. It is likewise the final step for the adolescent female of this sector.

It is only in the new household that the young male can display one of the symbols of full adult status: hosting kin and nonkin under his own roof and thereby displaying the proper hospitality. The procreation of children is similarly a symbol of the end of the period of transition and the initiation of full adult status. Significantly, the event of child birth is celebrated primarily within the household by the female and her midwives. But the young father also celebrates the event out in one of the <u>cantinas</u> of the town

where he gathers around him members of his work group and male relatives and compadres and buys alcohol for everyone.

Achieving each of these symbols of the initiation of full adult status is contingent upon the successful completion of the most difficult task facing the adolescent aged male. That is finding and retaining the services of a patrón whether this individual be a labor broker, an estate manager, or a master artisan. Perhaps it is most accurate to say that the young adolescent male decides to settle and create his own household where he finds relatively permanent work, and only then is he able to mate with one of the females whom he has courted during his years of travel. Once this relationship is solidified the young male is granted the opportunity to express the important symbols of adult status.

It is during the migratory years of the life cycle that the male of the Lower Coastal Sector initiates the use of cannabis. The use of the plant is intimately connected with the organization of work in this sector. Moreover, there is found to be a high correlation between the drug of choice of the patrón and the drug of choice of his clientes. Thus, if a labor broker smokes cannabis while working on the rice or cattle estate his work crew members generally also consume it. Likewise, if the master artisan uses it so also will his crew of apprentices. This is so because the patron-client relationship involves the ceremonial exchange of valued items. Cannabis is one of these items in the Coastal Lower Sector.

Cannabis using informants were uniformly initiated to the use of the drug during late adolescence in the context of

the nonkin based work group. They began smoking cannabis between the ages of 12 and 22 and have between 11 and 31 years of experience smoking the drug. Most are the only adult males of their families who consume cannabis. None reported that his father used the drug. This is not surprising given the nonkin composition of the work group where socialization into cannabis use takes place.

The prestige value of alcoholic beverages surpasses that of cannabis. Alcohol is preferred by consumers of cannabis and nonconsumers alike for the important ceremonial events which mark the yearly, weekly, and daily calendar. Among Coastal Lower Sector laborers cannabis is associated primarily with the work group and is used almost exclusively in the form of smoking. The group which consumes cannabis during the day, as it cleans a field or irrigation ditch, may not use the drug in the evening when one of its members or the labor broker hosts an assembly at his home. Likewise, the master adobe brickmaker and his apprentices may consume marijuana throughout the day while working, yet meet at one of the stores during the evening for beer, rum, or aguardiente drinking.

The initiation of cannabis smoking during the migratory period of the life cycle in the context of manual labor does not seem to cause the use of cannabis in other settings and in other groups. The reason is that cannabis is perceived to be an energizing drug. It is used in connection with manual labor because the users have been taught that it increases one's tolerence and capacity for hard physical exer-

tion. While most informants use the drug in the context of cooperative work, it is significant that coastal peasants continue to use the drug when they obtain land and the capital for working the land. The coastal peasant works alone or with a few young offspring on his farm. The belief in the efficacy of cannabis for enhancing energy persists into this setting in which the character of the work group changes.

But clearly cannabis use is learned in the nonkin work group. Perhaps the most critical factor associated with such socialization is the clear association of drug of choice and work group composition. Rarely do the labor broker and his crew of laborers consume different drugs during the working hours. Some crews drink alcohol, others consume cannabis, and both kinds of groups smoke tobacco cigarettes. The artisans who use cannabis at work prefer this drug to alcohol and they too consume tobacco during the work day.

As the male of the Coastal Lower Sector searches for the right combination of patron, mate, and residential location the use of cannabis is initiated. And as we have seen the necessity of finding a good patrón is the most important step which the adolescent youth must take as he seeks to make the transition from adolescence to adulthood. It is only when he has succeeded in this quest that he can begin to display the other symbols of adulthood. Thus, when the patrón is selected so too the drug of choice is selected. This will be alcohol or cannabis depending upon the preference of the group.

The reason this is so is as follows. Work groups of

the Coastal Lower Sector merely work during the day. They are not kinship groups which have other functions. They are not clubs which have numerous social functions aside from work. They are, instead, parts of the larger production unit, the estate. Recruitment into this larger unit is on the basis of reciprocal relationships which evolve among nonkin during the migratory period of the life cycle. In order to join such a unit, thereby joining the ranks of productive adult males of the community, the adolescent must establish such a reciprocal relation with a labor broker.

Work groups invariably gather together in the early morning as each member makes his own way from his private household to the estate. Upon assembing the group begins the preparation of the tools to be utilized that day. This involves the sharpening of machetes or other implements which are usually supplied by the workers themselves. The men sit on the ground and use the files which they always carry to sharpen their machete and smoke the first of perhaps seven cannabis cigarettes to be consumed during the day. Each man smokes one cigarette alone and does not pass it or share it with others. But not all of the workers have purchased cannabis. Some of them supply cannabis for the others under the tacit assumption that they in turn will reciprocate this favor. The gift is never given in the absence of expectation of repayment at some future time, for that is the nature of gift giving in all human groups. Over time reciprocal relations among members of these groups evolve and what was formerly implicit becomes explicit. The breach of the con-

tract brings condemnation. This is true of all drugs of choice. The groups which use alcoholic beverages while working share the gift of one of their members. Others are expected to reciprocate on another work day. Those who do not reciprocate soon find themselves ostracized by the label vivo.

To be vivo is to be considered active of mind, intelligent, and unscrupulous. A member of a work group who is labeled vivo is one who takes unfair advantage of the gifts of others by not honoring his obligation to repay. Certainly such an obligation is not stated at the time when the gift is made. It is implicit and unstated. But it becomes explicit and is stated when members of the group do not honor the implicit obligation to repay. Such a person is then called vivo by other members of the group and he is considered untrustworthy. None will advance him social credit any longer, none will offer him further gifts of tobacco, alcohol, or cannabis. He is in effect ostracized.

To the labor broker, the man considered vivo by his fellows is not reliable. He is not one who feels the obligation to repay the kinds of social debts which are implicit as opposed to those that are contractual. Given the scarce job market, the excess of laborers, and the consequent high degree of migration, the labor broker is interested in recruiting and holding a relatively stable group of workers over the year. He wants men who honor the obligation which they accrue when the broker selects them by remaining loyal to him. The worker who is vivo may not honor such an obligation.

He does not respond to the subtle obligations of reciprocal sharing of the tobacco or alcohol or cannabis, so he will be unlikely to respond to the obligation to be at work a particular day when the labor broker needs him.

The labor broker needs a relatively reliable group of workers so that he might honor his obligations made at the stores, bars, cockfights, and in the home of his patrón. For example, a certain week he must lead a crew of 10 men to the estate La Fonseca and work at cleaning the irrigation canals. These canals must be readied by a set date when the INCORA employees come to open the sluice gates. If the labor broker fails then his position in the unit of production is threatened.

To be considered vivo is thus partly a compliment, since it implies a certain independence and native intelligence which permits the individual to come out on top in a social exchange, but it also is condemnatory since it implies a lack of cooperation. It implies egoism of self-centeredness. It means that the workers is intelligent enough to make a profit in the social exchange relationship, but ignorant enough to value that small profit over the long-range benefits of alliance with a good patrón and group of coworkers. In summary, the labor broker does not want men who are vivo in his work crew. He will reject those who do not show commitment to the group by recognizing their obligations to reciprocate gifts and favors.

This does not mean that men who are labeled vivo during

their adolescent migratory years are doomed to permanent social ostracism. Quite the contrary. Those who are truly active of intellect, and not simply greedy or unresponsive to social obligations, discover a number of ways in which to compensate for the label and in fact turn it to their advantage. For example, a bright day laborer can engage his talents in breeding and fighting cocks, and thereby draw himself into the cockring-brothel-bar circuit where an influential and wealthy <u>patrón</u> may be encountered. The potential patron may select the bright day laborer for employment on an estate, to work as a <u>trabajador</u> on a small cattle <u>finca</u>, to work for the municipal government or at one of the other government offices in the town, or a number of similar positions whereby the man can provide the patron with good fighting cocks on a regular basis. Arimiro Hernandez became an employee on the African Palm estate of the <u>Instituto Colombiana de Agricultura</u> (ICA), an experimental farm operated by this agency of the national government but directed by local elites, in exactly this fashion. The day laborers labeled <u>vivo</u> in his early years may also educate himself in the mechanics of merchandising, and become a vegetable and fruit vendor in the streets of the town. He learns to purchase food stuffs cheaply and sell them at a profit. Most men of this social sector, however, depend directly upon the good relations they maintain with a labor broker and their coworkers in the cooperative work groups of the estates. For most men to be labeled <u>vivo</u> is a mark of

unreliability which indicates to their fellows that they are ill suited to the form of productive activity practiced by most adult males of this social sector.

Through the years following his successful transition from adolescence to adulthood, signified by membership in a work group, obtaining a mate, procreating children, occupying a separate household from his parents, and hosting his relatives, _compadres_, and his labor broker in his home, the male of the Coastal Lower Sector joins the group of productive and responsible adult males of the community. These are the best and most rewarding years of his life, the years between the ages of 12 and 50. He will work on a variety of estates and his reputation as a _padre de familia_, literally the father of a family but also meaning respectability and reliability will spread. Soon he will be an older and experienced worker himself, and the administrators of the estates will seek him out as a labor broker. For the male of the Coastal Lower Sector to become a labor broker entails a long term residence in a particular location, which is _de facto_ evidence of his ability, reliability, and trustworthiness. At this stage of his life cycle he has earned the respect of younger workers and estate employers alike, and will increasingly act as mediator between these two essential elements of the productive unit.

Also upon reaching the status of labor broker around the age of 50 employees of the municipal, departmental, and national government in the community will seek out the

Coastal Lower Sector male for purposes of recruiting workers to some task which needs to be performed. This kind of employment is irregular and not highly desired by the workers in the town. For the government, at all levels, rarely pays its workers when promised. In one instance workers hired to clean the dead branches off African Palm trees at an ICA experimental area farm in June of 1973 were not paid their wages until September of 1973. And the teachers employed by the departmental government were not paid between September of 1972 and March of 1973. Government work is not desired by day laborers, as a result, and migratory adolescents are often the only laborers who will accept such work.

The labor broker continues to work in the fields until he attains an age which prohibits any further manual labor. When he can no longer work there are only two options open to him. The first is to move in with offspring, which may entail moving to another municipality or department. No male offspring follow in the aged male's household to assume the burden of productive labor. And often relatives cannot be found who will accept the burden of an aged and nonproductive relative. The other option is to become a beggar.

When I first inquired about the old men who begged from door to door I was told that they had no relatives and no homes. But upon further checking it was discovered that many lived with relatives in town and many were owners of houses. Some owned more than one house. Yet they regularly took up their canes, their battered straw work hats, their woven <u>mochilas</u> in which they once carried food to the fields and

dressed in ragged work clothes, made the rounds of the wealthy homes of the community. When the wealthy alms givers were questioned and confronted with the fact that these old men did have homes and relatives, a modified explanation was offered: they are men who are *padres de familias* but cannot work, so they are bored and leave the house to beg in order to get away from the women. People give alms out of respect for these old workers, for the life they have led and wish to continue to lead.

The life cycle of the Coastal Lower Sector male, then, can be seen as a steady progression of stages of incorporation into the public world of nonkin relationships. After the age of seven the male learns to spend less time with relatives and more with nonkin. This pattern intensifies until he joins the nonkin work group and thereby assumes the symbols of adult status. He lives out his life in this public world, and when death comes it finds him still facing towards this world.

The contrast between the male and female life cycles of this social sector are marked. The female only briefly enters the public world of nonkin relationships and then returns to the private world of home and children. She is claimed by the private world for life and is not taught to live among nonkin. The male is claimed by the public world after the age of seven and enters the private world only at death, when relatives of both sexes and some nonkin gather for a special mass and the *velorio*. The distinction between the public and

private realms as they are expressed in the life cycles of the male and female is basic to an understanding of the Coastal Lower Sector.

The Highland Lower Sector

In the highlands the household unit is composed of members of the three generation extended family. The system of inheritance dictates that all male offspring have equal shares in the house and farm. Females become owners of houses and farms only upon the death of all male siblings or their husbands. In other regions exploited by this subculture the inheritance custom results in the rapid fragmentation of holdings into units too small to be economically feasible (Smith, et al. 1944, Fals Borda 1956). But in this region the land is only recently colonized and the farms are large. Similarly, the possibility of further colonization of lands higher up in the mountains eases the pressure on the land, unlike other areas of the world where colonization is not possible or practiced (Carter 1964, Yang 1945, Arensberg and Kimball 1968). For these reasons household composition is quite stable over time. The male child is claimed from the moment of birth until death. He will not have to leave the farm as will his sister upon her marriage or mating. The inheritance pattern, the size of the holdings, and the possibility of further colonization create in this subculture a distinctive set of constraints and incentives from those discussed above.

Females of the Highland Lower Sector

Females and males of this social sector are born into the world in the household dwelling. The female members of the extended family receive the child into the world, and females of advanced age play the role of midwife. The infant is born into the hands of its mother's mother, its mother's sister, or its mother's sister-in-law one or more of whom journeyed from nearby farms in the *vereda* to assist. Care of the female and male infants falls to the females of the household from this moment on. Older female siblings of the infant play a particularly important role. But males of the household engage the child of this age only in play activity. After returning from the day's work in the gardens the males may play with a "lap child" and "knee baby" until the infant gets tiresome, defecates on the floor, or begins to cry. Then a female of the household is called to take charge. Adult males involved in playing with an infant have been observed to call females away from preparing the evening meal, saying: "Diosa, Diosa, the child dirtied the floor; come here." The female called then appears, leaving her chores, moves the baby to another spot on the dirt floor, carefully scoops sand over the feces, and sweeps them out the door into the patio. Only then does the adult male resume his interest in the infant.

Baptism takes place in the town Catholic church at the stage of "knee baby" when the parents make the journey on horses or donkeys to the place where the truck stops and from

there to town. They stay the night behind one of the stores belonging to a highland shopkeeper who has agreed to serve as godfather (and his spouse as godmother) to the infant. The ceremony includes only these two couples and the infant. No feast or special events mark the occasion, except for a few ritual drinks purchased by the peasant for his new _compadre_, the shopkeeper. The shopkeeper in turn pays the priest his fee for the ceremony. The next day the peasants depart for their farm.

The transition to "yard child" occurs when the child begins to walk and consequently falls increasingly under the care of her older female siblings. All infants are held by some female member of the household most of the day. The birth of another child means that the current "lap child" is held more frequently by a female sibling. With transition to "yard child" she is weaned, taught toilet etiquette, and given clothing appropriate to her sex. She is cared for by other "yard children" who are supervised by older siblings. It is not uncommon to see a child of five spend most of a day tending a child of three.

Females aged four to seven are thus largely responsible for the care of younger siblings. In addition, they are sent for water from nearby streams, asked to bring items to adults, and instructed in sweeping and other light chores. Girls of four accompany their older female siblings of six or seven to the stream carrying a small pan while the older sibling carries a large pot, and the younger girl makes her

own contribution to the task of bringing water to the kitchen. Likewise, small girls are given rags to wash in the stream when older females wash the family's clothing. A favorite game played by female "yard children" involves the collecting of scraps of paper, string, cloth, and metal from around the household and yard. These are carefully arranged in cardboard boxes saved by adults for this purpose. Girls spend hours taking the items out of the boxes, trading them, rearranging them on the floor, and packing them back in the boxes. Marlboro cigarette boxes together with their tin foil liner and plastic wrappers became highly valued items which were added to these boxes during the period of study. Invariably, the older "yard children" gained possession of the highly valued tin foil liner during the course of trading. In such play activity the female imitates the work patterns of the sex group. The play boxes and their collections simulate the adult female's sewing box which is taken out during relaxation periods during the day. Similarly, the small pans of water and rags taken to the stream imitate adult behavior patterns. Such patterns are learned largely from older siblings of the same sex.

At about the age of seven the transition is made to "farm child." At this stage the female is brought into the productive activity of her sex group. This entails assisting with the morning milking as well as assuming more responsibility for the supervision of younger siblings of both sexes. The female between the ages of seven and 15 is a valuable worker in the household.

The female "farm child" assists adolescent aged females in taking primary responsibility for milking the cows. The younger females pick up a stick in the patio around 6:00 A.M. and use it to drive the cows sucking calves out of the herd and into the gate of the corral that leads to the patio. Waiting in the patio are the calves which the younger males of the household tied up the evening before. The calves are permitted to suckle while the adolescent aged female ties the legs of the cow and until the milk begins to flow easily. Then the calves are pulled away by the "farm child" and the adolescent female begins milking. As pots are filled with milk the "farm child" carries the milk to the kitchen where it is boiled and mixed with coffee to be drunk with breakfast or mixed with corn meal and cooked on a griddle to produce the highland bread called arepa. After the milking is done the females release the cows and drive the entire herd out of the corral into the pastures.

Beginning with the milking operation and lasting through meal preparation, washing the dishes and pots, cleaning the house, washing clothes in the stream, preparing the midday meal, cleaning dishes again, pounding corn for the next day's meals, sewing, tending the kitchen garden of herbs, onions, and tomatoes, preparing the evening meal, and cleaning the dishes again, the females aged four to seven assist their older siblings and the adult females in all tasks. Elder directs younger, so that the spouse of the household head directs all beneath her and adolescents

direct "farm children."

By the age of 15 the female has assumed full responsibility for tasks such as milking, pounding the corn, cleaning the house, and preparing food while child care has diminished in importance. At this age most of the heavy work of the household female group is done by the adolescent aged female such as carrying heavy water containers, chopping firewood, and carrying parcels of clothing to and from the stream. This is also the age when the female becomes eligible for courtship. Often the father of an adolescent girl sponsors parties at his home, soccer matches among single males in the neighborhood, and similar events. But in the normal course of the yearly cycle the males of nearby households find opportunities to stop on their way to work or to town and chat with the members of the household in which a potential mate lives. Such activities as horse trading, borrowing and lending seed and tools, playing soccer, receiving or giving gifts of fresh meat, and cooperative hunting during the summer months are each occasions when the male of this social sector ranges widely over the neighborhood. It is the highland custom to offer coffee or a glass of water with raw sugar and lemon juice to the traveler who pauses at the house, and this constitutes an opportunity to converse with potential mates and the fathers of potential mates. The adolescent aged girl has little opportunity to chat with a visiting young man, and for a while may only be able to smile as she brings him a cup of hot coffee. But with the passage of time and

the consent of her father the young man can spend more time at the house and engage the adolescent girl in conversation and perhaps invite her for a walk.

Negotiations which constitute the courtship process in the highlands are not left entirely to the courting couple. Relatives play an important role in approving or condemning alliances. Factors considered include the potential mate's capacity for work, the quality of his father's farm, the size of his inheritance or portion of the farm, and the family's reputation in the neighborhood. Sometimes a courting male is denied permission to take a particular bride. One young man named Angel, for example, sought to take a 15 year old girl named María as his mate. But María's father refused. Angel was a recent migrant to that particular _vereda_ from the interior department of Santander, and in that _vereda_ most families were from Cundinamarca. No one knew Angel very well. He lived alone with his brother on a newly colonized piece of land and as yet planted very little since his labor resources were limited. He owned no animals aside from a few chickens. The family of María felt there were several better qualified males living nearby. And they recognized that their farm and family was one of the oldest and most prosperous in the _vereda_. So they held out for María to attract a more fitting suitor. Consequently Angel arranged to elope with the girl and she agreed to his plan. They journeyed on foot, since Angel had no burro or mule, to a neighboring _vereda_ where Angel's paternal cousin lived and

owned a large prosperous farm. The cousin took them in when they arrived and the young couple stayed for two weeks, during which time María and Angel lived in the room where grain and livery were stored. She was deflowered then, but at the same time treated royally by the females of the household. She rarely helped with the cooking or cleaning and was requested to do few other chores. Angel, in contrast, worked each day in the gardens belonging to his hospitable cousin. After the two week period was over the couple returned to their own <u>vereda</u> riding a horse loaned Angel by his cousin. María then told her father that the union was consummated with her consent, that Angel came from a prosperous and productive family, and that they had treated her well. The reluctant parents consented to the union.

In the case cited above Angel's cousin served as sponsor of the union consummated through elopement. But in most cases closer relatives carry the request for the hand of the adolescent girl directly to the girl's father. Usually this is the father of the suitor. Elopement is a response to an absence of nearby kin who can establish one's good reputation by acting as sponsor of the union. Males who come to the Sierra region with no spouse and no family find it difficult to secure a female mate. Angel was fortunate to have an able and respected relative nearby.

If a marriage ceremony is to be performed it takes place much like the baptism. The family of the bride and groom journey to the lowland town one day and stay behind

the patron's store over night. The next day the ceremony is performed in the Catholic church and only the immediate family is present. Then the males of the families thus allied may engage in ritual drinking in the stores where they have patrons, or the families may get back on the truck and return to the highlands. Back in the _vereda_ a wedding party is hosted by the father of the bride and food and ceremonial _chicha_ and aguardiente are consumed by all. When the groom's family depart that night or the next day the bride and groom go with them. The female then enters the state of mated adulthood. But for most highland females a marriage ceremony in the lowland town is not experienced. Rather the family of the groom comes to the household of the bride and a dinner and drinking party is held. When they leave the bride goes with them to join her new household.

The married or mated adult female of the highlands bears several children, nurses them, and carries out the household chores which fall to the female work group. Only in her new household she is now directed by her mother-in-law. In certain cases, where the male suitor is considered a good man and strong worker but has no farm or family nearby, the residence pattern after marriage or mating may be matrilocal. In these cases the daughter is not required to make the difficult adjustment to daughter-in-law in a new household. But these cases are not common. Most females of the highlands must make the adjustment to the household of the groom. She does not come to direct the activity in the kitchen, the corral, the patio, or the stream areas until she and her mate live

in their own household dwelling. This may not occur for several years and until the female has borne several children. When the capacities of the parental household dwelling are thus taxed, then the young man constructs his own dwelling for his growing family. The new dwelling is often located only a few hundred yards away on the same farm, and the household which occupied it continues to be dependent on the parental household for many necessities, but the female finally comes to direct her own work activities. She does not work in the *roza* or with the animals of the farm with the exception of the morning milking. She rarely visits the lowland town and when she does it is for the purpose of medical care for herself or an infant. The males of the household, and more specifically the household head, have the responsibility for all interface relationships with the townspeople. When the household head journeys to town he may take an adolescent daughter to shop for new material for a dress, or his spouse to see a doctor, or his daughter-in-law to purchase a new pair of shoes. But females do not enter the town in the absence of the male of the household. Visiting among households of the *veredas* follows the same strictures, although females more frequently accompany their mates on these short journeys. But even within the *vereda* the female does not travel unescorted.

Death claims the female of this social sector after she has given birth to from eight to 18 children. Children do not survive easily in the highlands and each household

reports several deceased infants buried at various places on the farm. Adults however are buried in the town cemetery. The adult female like the adult male is not transported back to the municipality of origin. The colonists have made the most compelling commitment to the region they have colonized. They inter their dead here.

The death of an adult aged female is observed by a *velorio* or wake and one year later the anniversary of the death is observed again in the same manner. This includes the ritual recitation of the rosary before an altar built in the household dwelling by the adult males, the consumption of much food and drink, and the assembly for the event of male and female relatives from throughout the highland *vereda*. At death the female remains the center of domestic ritual.

Males of the Highland Lower Sector

The life cycle of the highland male can be interpreted as a progressive incorporation into the private world of the extended family and the farm. Unlike his female sibling the highland male does not leave the extended family in order to achieve adult status. In fact, at no point is the highland male claimed by anyone outside of the extended family into which he is born.

Like his female sibling the infant male is born into the arms of an adult female relative. He is continually caressed, groomed, and cared for by the older females of the household. He is baptized in the lowland Catholic church

and his godparents are sought from among the highland shopkeepers. And like his female sibling he makes the transition from "knee baby" to "yard child" at about the age of three. There is he taught personal etiquette by his older female siblings in whose care he is placed. In the group of yard children he assists his older male siblings in the tasks about the farm, but such assistance is mainly in the form of play. Firewood collection, herding the cattle into the corral in the evenings, and running errands are the responsibilities of the "farm child."

The male makes the transition to "farm child" at the age of eight, which in many families is symbolized by the gift of a knife made to the young boy from his father. The machete is the most important and frequently used tool for all farm work in the highlands. But it is not until adolescence that the young male is given his first machete. For now he is satisfied with a knife, with which he carves pieces of wood and triumphantly attacks trees, weeds, and tall grass. He learns to sharpen and care for his knife without cutting himself. And he learns that the sex segregated world of work in the highlands is symbolized by the knife which only he and not his female sibling has been given.

As a "farm child" the male assumes the major responsibility for the care of the cattle and other farm animals. While he is assisted by younger "yard children" of the same sex, these duties are clearly his primary responsibility. In particular, he is given responsibility for herding the

cows in at night from the pastures. Each cow in a herd of 80 or 100 animals is given a name by the highlanders. The household head sits on the front porch and counts the cows as they come in, calling out the names of those which are missing. The male "farm child" then must search the entire pasture for the wayward animals and return only when he can drive the beasts in front of him into the corral. Similarly, horses, burros, and mules that are needed by the household head for a journey or for work are caught in the morning by the male "farm child." When the animals return dirty and sweaty from their labors the "farm child" takes them to the stream to bathe them.

It is not until 15 years of age that the male begins work in the roza with his father and older siblings. Such work begins only when the male is perceived to be strong, for the work is equal to that of the adult males of the household. He is expected to clear away brush and trees, to burn off the dry vegetation, to carry away the vegetation that will not burn, to plant the field, to weed the crops, and to harvest and carry the crops to the household dwelling. No task is kept from him, but all tasks are supervised by his older siblings and his father. He is no longer responsible for care of the cattle, excepting in those tasks which fall to the adult males such as branding, castration, treatment for illness, herding the cattle from or to the lowland town, or butchering. These tasks he learns from his father as the opportunity arrives.

Like the female of the highland subculture the adolescent male rarely travels to the lowland town. The household head has this responsibility and pleasure. Only when the young man begins to seek a spouse will such trips become frequent. For in town he will obtain small gifts for his potential mate. He will also be initiated by his father into the masculine complex of activities which center on bars, stores, and brothels. It is at the age of late adolescence that the son is invited by his father to a brothel in the lowland town, usually after an evening of drinking in several stores and bars. The father provides the offspring with 30 to 40 pesos to spend on one of the prostitutes, and he will pick up the tab for the evening's drinks. Such events are rare and the significance of the initial one is the arrival of manhood. Likewise, the observer has been present when a father has taken his adult aged son who has just presented him with a grandchild to a local brothel where once again the father provides the money for the evening's celebration and entertainment.

The pattern of such leisure activity is only one expression of the fact that the household head retains control of the finances of all his sons as long as he remains active and alert. Sons generally choose to live on their father's farms and find mates in the nearby households. As they accompany their father to town to market produce, or to hunt wild meat during the summer months they discover eligible adolescent aged females. The adolescent aged male engages in

the limited courtship activities described earlier and soon requests that his father sponsor his marriage proposal to the father of the girl. With the mating or marriage consummated the young couple procreate children in the household of the father of the groom. This continues until the household dwelling cannot longer contain the expanding number of members. Then the young man may build a separate structure for his spouse and his children, and frequently this occurs only after his spouse has born him two or three children. Through the growth of his own family the young male continues to work in the gardens of his father and his activities on the farm continue to be directed by his father. But as his family grows he seeks to build his own dwelling and begin planting his own _roza_. With his own dwelling and his own _roza_ the young man approaches full adult status, but crop sales from the individual _rozas_ of the farm continue to be handled by the father. Moreover, goods such as rice, sugar, salt, cooking oil, and numerous other items essential to life on the farm are stored in the father's household. These are partitioned among the various dwelling units on the farm.

In short, the parental household continues to be the center of life on the farm even after the young male lives with his mate, starts his own family of procreation, and works on his own _roza_. Activities through which the extended family is related to the outside world of the lowland town, such as selling produce and buying provisions, continue to be directed by the household head. Only with the death or weakening of

the household head do sons come to direct the work on the farm and handle the interface relationships between the extended family and the outside world. The clearest expression of this fact occurs when the household head returns from a journey to town. The male children of the household, including adult aged sons, make the customary brief bow with the finger tips of each hand together in a prayer-like gesture of greeting and submission. Thus is the male of this social sector claimed and retained by the parental household until the death of the parents.

Male and female highlanders are mourned in similar fashion. The *velorio* is held and filial, affinal, and fictive kin come to the home of the deceased. An altar is built of wood, tin foil, colored paper, pictures of the Holy Family, and fresh flowers and green boughs. Here every two hours the males of the extended families related to the deceased assemble and say the rosary under the leadership of ritual specialists who have been invited to serve this function. Three huge meals are served to the guests: one at 6:00 P.M. shortly after their arrival, another at midnight, and a third shortly before their departure at 5:00 A.M. Huge quantities of alcohol in the form of *chicha* or maize beer and aguardiente are consumed by the assembled males. After the last rosary at 4:00 A.M. the final meal is prepared by the assembled females and the males sit at the large table improvised for the event, together with the ritual specialists, and consume more food and alcoholic

beverages. The specialists are given a turkey or several chickens for their services and start off on the way to their homes together with the other guests. Throughout the *velorio* the males play the key ceremonial roles while the females prepare food in the kitchen. When the meals are served the males eat first and are served by the females, and only when they are finished do the females eat. With the departure of the guests life on the highland farm returns to normal until the anniversary of the death the following year. The *velorio* is held once again at that time. Even in death the highlander is claimed by the private world of his household, in clear contrast to the public commemoration given the Coastal Lower Sector individual in the church of the lowland town.

Cannabis and Profane Ritual

Each of the social sectors for which life cycles have been discussed in the preceding sections presents to each generation certain social relationships that claim the individual for membership in certain social groupings. The claiming relationships enable individuals to achieve certain life goals typical of the social tradition of that social grouping. Individuals must of course choose to engage themselves in claiming relationships. These choices are influenced by certain constraints and incentives built into the structure of social life. The choice that concerns us here is that pertaining to the smoking of cannabis.

The perception of the world in which the Coastal Lower

Sector individual lives is given expression through the social relationships which he experiences in the course of his life. We can think of this perception as the world view. The world view of the Coastal Lower Sector can be characterized as "public." It is a world into which the Coastal Lower Sector individual is successively inducted into the public realm of nonkin relationships, the voluntary association which is the productive work group of the estate system. At adolescence the induction takes place which involves learning to smoke cannabis, but from the age of seven onward the individual is gradually incorporated into relationships of this kind. Through early childhood and into adulthood the individual learns to master relationships with nonkin males. He learns to achieve several of life's goals as they are defined in the coastal subculture: the prestige which comes with fine clothing, public drinking, betting at the cockfights, hosting his peers in his home, in bars, and in stores, taking a mate, procreating children, and becoming a padre de familia.

The world view of the Highland Lower Sector is best characterized as "private." The Highlander is successively inducted into the private world of kinship relations, the productive unit which exploits the land and consumes its products on the highland farm. The induction takes place several times in relation to the age of the initiate, but each induction is similar to the one before in that it incorporates the male into the private world of family and

farm. Through mastering the relationships with kinsmen the initiate achieves life's goals as they are valued in the highland subculture: the prestige which comes from carrying out one's role in the productive process, obtaining cash from the sale of crops, taking a mate, procreating children, directing the farming activity in one's own roza, and becoming a padre de familia.

Cannabis has diffused at some time in the past to the Coastal Lower Sector where it is smoked in certain profane rituals. Similarly, cannabis diffused to the Highland Lower Sector where it is cultivated as a cash crop but not smoked or otherwise consumed. The functions which cannabis serves in each group are intimately related to the structure of social relationships which provide constraints and incentives on choices to be made.

Fernandez (1969:37) has recently provided the convenient labels of instrumental behavior and expressive behavior for a distinction first made by Chapple and Arensberg (1940), again by Chapple and Coon (1942), and more recently by Arensberg and Kimball (1965). Instrumental behavior is behavior by which we seek to change things in the object world, or behavior by which things are changed as a result. Expressive behavior is behavior in which we seek to give outward expression of inward states, ideas, sentiments, and symbols. Chopping down a tree, planting a seed, or sharpening a machete are examples of instrumental behaviors by which the world is changed. Laughing at a joke, singing a song, or giving a

gift of cigarettes are examples of expressive behaviors by which the world comes to know how it is that we feel.

Obviously many events of interpersonal interaction have both instrumental and expressive aspects. Planting a seed is clearly an instrumental activitiy, yet the time that it is planted is an expressive action relating to sentiments having to do with the cycles of the moon, judgments as to the probability of rainfall, and ideas about the reasons why things grow. Moreover, the seed planting may be incomplete without a libation of alcohol and the incantation of certain words (Carter 1964).

Cannabis functions in each of these social sectors in both instrumental and expressive ways. It has been seen that cannabis smoking is present in certain profane rituals of the Coastal Lower Sector day laborers. Not everyone participates in these profane rituals. Certain individuals choose not to reciprocate gifts of alcohol, cannabis, and tobacco. These persons are called <u>vivo</u> and ejected from the work group. Those who participate and reciprocate the small gifts given them by nonkin are those who become members of the work group. They are responding to certain constraints and incentives typical of their social sector.

The constraints which exist in this social sector that affect the nature of these decisions to reciprocate are the following: an excess of day laborers looking for work, a depressed economic situation in which wages are minimal but there are few other sources of work, and the scarcity of

older filial and affinal kinsmen who can claim the young and sponsor them for membership in the work group.

The incentives which exist in this social sector that affect these decisions are the following: early socialization experiences which teach that good relations with nonkin are desirable, the pivotal role played by the labor broker in labor recruitment on the estates, and peer pressure to obtain life's goals such as items of prestige, taking a mate, public drinking, etc.

The choices to be made, then, are influenced by the character of the claiming process. The adolescent male is initially claimed by a group of nonkin workers and a labor broker. He is given the opportunity to work and with it the opportunity to claim the group and the labor broker. Should he wish to terminate the relationship, i.e. not claim his sponsors, he may do so by playing the role called vivo. Should he wish to continue the relationship he too must claim others in the group by investing in them through the reciprocal exchange of valued items. The claiming relationship is a dyadic contract between two claimants, an initiate and a sponsor, either of which can refuse to claim the other and terminate the relationship. Significantly, female cannabis consumers are rare in this community. Females are not claimed by the nonkin work group of the estate system.

Cannabis smoking is thus instrumental to the process of labor recruitment, to achieving valued life goals through certain nonkin relationships, to the claiming relationship

which enables the adolescent to make the transition to the status of adult coastal male, and to productive work by which an adult male supports his family.

Considering now the expressive aspects of cannabis smoking, it seems that cannabis use functions as symbolic behavior at three levels or dimensions (Turner 1966:37). The first of these is the exegetic dimension or the meaning of cannabis smoking to participants in the profane ritual. Informants uniformly report that cannabis smoking is good for one's health, that it increases strength and spirit for working, that it reduces fatigue, and that it is useful in treating pain either alone or in combination with alcoholic beverages. Certainly this is the meaning of cannabis smoking to informants when they are asked to explain in words why they smoke it. At a second level lies the operational dimension of symbolic expression. Here we find that the adolescent is newly initiated into smoking cannabis, or that cannabis was not used previously to his induction into the male work group, and that he continues to smoke cannabis throughout his adult life and sometimes for years after his work patterns change. Thus, cannabis smoking is an expression of the act of claiming a sponsor and being claimed which remains throughout an individual's lifetime an expression of adulthood. And at a third level is the positional dimension of symbolic expression. Here it is seen that cannabis occupies a similar position in the profane rituals of the nonkin work group as alcohol and tobacco. To this extent the meaning of cannabis

smoking is similar to the meaning of the use of these other substances.

In the Coastal Lower Sector, therefore, cannabis smoking has instrumental significance from the standpoint of processural changes that occur in the nature of social relationships during the adult male life cycle. Cannabis smoking also has expressive significance from the standpoint of its exegetic, operational, and positional meanings. Cannabis smoking functions in the profane ritual of the nonkin work group to instrumentally relate individuals in their productive capacities as members of the estate system and to expressively confirm these instrumental relationships.

In the Highland Lower Sector cannabis plays no role in the profane ritual of reciprocal exchange of cash crops, coparent service, credit, cash, alcohol, tobacco, and share-cropping of cattle among the highland peasant and the high-land shopkeeper. But cannabis is an item exchanged for cash with the Upper Sector of the municipality, which is a mar-ginal pattern of interaction as was pointed out in Chapter III. Cannabis cultivation in this instance permits the innovation of wholly new patterns of interaction that can only be inter-preted as marginal. Yet the instrumental behavior and its expressive aspects of planting cannabis, selling it to a buyer, and applying the cash receipts to culturally valued ends is not novel. The social relationships through which these quite normal life goals of the peasant are achieved make this activity a marginal one, as well as the tremendous cash profit relative to normal investment. Cannabis in

this social sector, therefore, must be considered intrusive and disruptive of normal patterns of interaction reflected in the profane rituals in which highlanders engage themselves. Yet the cash earning qualities of this disruptive behavior permit its perpetuation, for several of life's goals are thereby achieved. The implications of cannabis cultivation for the structures of social relationships in this sector, and ultimately in the entire community which depends upon the foods, produced by this sector, can be assessed only over a long period of time. The innovation is so recent that prediction is difficult.

CHAPTER V

COMPARISONS AND CONCLUSIONS

A Controlled Comparison

The social and cultural dimensions of cannabis use in Colombia have been studied by few investigators, none of whom utilized scientific techniques in order to reach their conclusions. Wolff (1949:40) working with no empirical data concluded that cannabis directly produced violent physical attacks, murders, and suicides among using populations. He (Wolff 1949:9-10) also reported that a profane ritual in Latin America involves a group of individuals smoking cannabis while sitting around a circle and blowing the smoke over an iguana placed in the center. When the iguana falls over unconscious, the story goes, then the participants know they have smoked enough. It was not my good fortune to verify this observation in Colombia, nor is it likely that Wolff ever witnessed such from his office in Buenos Aires. More recently Perez (1952:739) on the basis of case histories collected from his psychiatric patients voiced the more sophisticated view that cannabis produces psychic, motor, and sexual excitation which can lead to insanity among those ill-equipped to handle such stimulations. Perez does not add that psychic, motor, and sexual excitations are universal to the species and quite essential to survival. It is virtually impossible to insulate any human population against such

excitations short of purposeful brain damage. But neither of these scholars considers the social and cultural dimensions of cannabis use.

An exception is Ardila Rodriguez (1965) who has contributed an impressive treatment of the social and legal aspects of cannabis use from the medical standpoint. He isolates the following factors as characteristic of cannabis using populations in Colombia: mobility, single civil status, marginality, unemployment, concubinage, criminality, lack of housing, lack of children, low salary, low productivity, illiteracy, family disintegration, and segregation from the largersociety (Ardila Rodriguez 1965:51). Interestingly enough users and nonusers of the two social sectors discussed in the previous chapter share more in common than differences in relation to these factors.

Concubinage or free union is typical of about 50% of the highlanders who do not use cannabis and about 50% of the coastal subculture individuals who do. The rate of illiteracy in the highlands is about 60% and the rate in the lowlands is about 30%. Both highlanders and the coastal people earn very low incomes and have no resources of productivity aside from their backs and sweat. Unemployment is generally confined to the elderly in each subculture although underemployment is endemic to coastal life. Criminality is rare in each subculture, but the highlanders habitually come into conflict with the police more frequently than do lowlanders, due to the habit of arming themselves with pistols in defiance of the law (and the non-cannabis-

smoking elites of the town regularly engage themselves in contraband activity). Lack of housing is atypical of both subcultures and some cannabis users in the coastal subculture have more than one house, one on the farm and one in a town neighborhood. Single civil status (lack of mate) is not typical of any group in the community, and a lack of children is absolutely unheard of. Certainly coastal cannabis users are no more segregated from society than are highland users; it is after all the highlanders who live up in the mountains segregated from the towns and cities where coastal people live.

"Family disintegration" is a concept that cannot be compared without definition. Ardila Rodriguez neglects definitions, but if family disintegration means some form of family life other than that typical of the subculture then families of cannabis users are not "disintegrated." "Marginality" is likewise a concept that demands definition before comparisons can be made. The most empirical way to assess marginal status in a community is to look at the nature of reciprocal exchange relationships. Elements of the community which are not involved in these, or are involved in deviant kinds of reciprocal exchanges, can be considered marginal. A comparison of such relationships reveals that cannabis users conform well to the structure of exchange relationships typical of their social sector. Cannabis does not involve them in any unusual or novel exchange relagionships (compare Figures 10 and 11). On the other hand, the commercial growers of cannabis in the highland subculture who are not consumers of cannabis are

indeed marginal, since their productive activity causes the initiation of atypical and novel kinds of reciprocal relationships with the coastal Upper Sector. It must be concluded that the highland nonusers of cannabis are more marginal to community life than are users of cannabis.

The only point of agreement between the factors suggested by Ardila Rodriguez and the data discussed in previous chapters is that of migration. The cannabis consumer is indeed migratory early in life, and this is a factor which is strongly associated with cannabis use. Moreover, it has been seen that migration in search of work opportunities is a typical and continuing feature of coastal life. But the mere fact of migration does not produce cannabis use since the highlanders uniformly migrate to this region and do not initiate cannabis use. Rather, migration and cannabis use are related only within the context of the social structure, the constraints and incentives, of the Coastal Lower Sector.

Ardila Rodriguez (1965:81ff) gathered data wholly from published accounts of cannabis usage in Brazil, Mexico, and the United States as well as from Colombian police records. By comparing the two sources, and with no reference to any empirical investigation of the actual situation in Colombia on his part, he concludes by enumerating a list of social "characteristics" associated with cannabis use in Colombia. It is little wonder that of the 13 characteristics generalized for cannabis using populations in Colombia only one conforms to the data presented here.

The controlled comparison made possible by the presence of two subcultural traditions in the community studied is of greater value than its use in refuting the conclusions reached by other investigators. Such a comparison makes possible the isolation of structures related to cannabis use since each subculture has equally ready access to cannabis. Returning to the question posed in the first chapter: why do some groups in the community use cannabis and why do not others?

Cannabis is instrumental to and expressive of certain social relationships among coastal day laborers on the estates in the municipality. The relationships can be characterized as exchange relationships from the viewpoint of profane ritual behavior. These same relationships can be viewed as claiming relationships from the perspective of the succession of generations through the structure of the coastal subculture. They occur in the voluntary association typical of the coastal tradition: the nonkin male work group.

It was seen in Chapter II that the cooperative male work group is the traditional form of labor organization on the north coast. It has its origins in indigenous forms of horticultural activity associated with the swidden horticultural tradition. The Spanish conquerors adopted this native form of organization into their system of tribute payments from indigenous communities in the form of labor taxes. The group of males which traditionally cooperated in clearing and burning off the land were required to perform this same activity on the estates of the conquerors. Spaniards and

Negro slaves alike learned this form of cooperative labor organization as they learned the swidden horticultural techniques from indigenous people. On the estates Negro slaves, Indian tribute workers and slaves, and clients of the estate owner carried out operations involving cattle at the same time that they worked the gardens of the estate owner. Plots of land were granted estate workers (administrators, employees, slaves, workers) for use in producing all food eaten by all personnel. Whether workers were primarily cattle hands or horticulturalists, all workers were either part-time or full-time food producers in the swidden horticultural tradition. Even escaped Negro slaves adopted the indigenous system of labor organization and persisted in its use down to the 19th century. The diffusion of barbed wire to Colombia did cause any substantial reorganization of the estate system in the Magdalena region. Traditional forms of cattle ranching and the forms of labor exploitation associated with the _hato_ persisted into the 20th century. The origins of the male cooperative work group, then, are found in the particular adaptive responses of several distinct cultural traditions to the ecological and historical conditions of the north coast. These conditions did not change until the early 20th century.

Quite a different form of labor organization was introduced by the United Fruit Company in 1896. Wage labor came to replace the patron-client relationship. The cattle _hato_ and the swidden horticultural tradition associated with it

were replaced by the monocrop plantation. Workers became specialists in industrial production and the Company replaced the patron as dispenser of housing and credit to laborers. Of the many specialized tasks required on the banana plantation only the _macheteros_ who cleaned off the dead banana plants after a harvest and replanted the fields worked in cooperative groups. Most other employees worked at specialized tasks with other specialists (cutters, haulers, fruit selectors, fumigators, drivers, water controlers). The _macheteros_ however were groups of undifferentiated workers whose laborers were directed by a work crew leader. The Company hired these workers by the task, for a limited period of time, and then dismissed them. Crews of workers were recruited by a figure called here a labor broker and were paid by the day for certain tasks completed. The form of organization represented by the labor broker and his crew corresponds to traditional forms of labor organization, but certain key differences exist.

The traditional cooperative work group, as described in Chapter II, was made up of males from the same community who were related through bonds of interdependency such as kinship and ritual participation. During the United Fruit Company period these groups came to be composed of nonkin as workers from all over the coast and from other nations sought employment by the North American firm. In the traditional _chagua_ significant profane rituals such as the exchange of food and alcoholic beverages and the festive

did not persist: the crop changed back to cattle and the employees of the Company became clients of a landowner once again. But of most importance here, the changes introduced by the Company did persist on one level. The labor broker and his crew of wage laborers have been retained.

The irrigation system brought by the Company permitted the innovation of rice agriculture, which demands significant numbers of day laborers only at certain times of the year. In contrast, the cattle estate utilizes these day laborers irregularly. In rice agriculture the activities of the cooperative male work group must be precisely scheduled due to the coordination of harvest procedures on all of the estates and due to the requirements of irrigation. The labor broker, therefore, becomes a critically important person on the rice estate. Thus, the male cooperative work group of ancient times has persisted up until the present, but in modified form.

The conditions introduced by the United Fruit Company and the conditions introduced by its departure from the community produced a situation of excess laborers competing for few jobs and low wages. Under these conditions the agricultural labor force has become increasingly migratory. The cooperative work group has come to be composed entirely of unrelated males. The patron-client relations of earlier times no longer function, and the members of the cooperative work group now have no access to credit, housing, or land to plant. Instead they are paid a wage. Their position in

the work group typical of coastal tradition is dependent upon their relationship with a labor broker, and no longer on kinship or membership in the family unit. Fictive kinship relations and real kinship relations evolved among members of the cooperative work group only with tenure. Recruitment is now a function of other factors.

The conditions of excess labor, few jobs, low wages, a migratory search for work, and the powerful influence of the labor broker produce a situation in which labor recruitment takes place through a profane ritual. In earlier times this profane ritual, which involves the exchange of a number of valued items among the participants in the work activity, functioned to symbolize existing bonds of interdependency among the members. Today it has become a vital element in the recruitment process. The profane ritual permits the participants to establish bonds of interdependency, reciprocal exchange relationships, where none have existed previously. Cannabis, alcohol, and tobacco are each items exchanged in this ritual and are each instrumentally and expressively related to these emerging bonds of interdependency. It is probably the case that numerous other items could function equally well in this setting. What is significant is not the use of cannabis or alcohol in the profane ritual, but the relationships among the participants in the ritual.

Cannabis is not a traditional element of the profane ritual. It diffused to the north coast of Colombia only recently. When it arrived, with West Indian day laborers,

it diffused readily to the Coastal Lower Sector where it became an item of exchange among workers on the coastal estate. These groups readily integrated cannabis into their lives. In a sense it can be said that the Coastal Lower Sector cooperative work group was predisposed to accept and integrated cannabis into the profane ritual. This is probably not because of the effects of cannabis (whatever these are perceived to be) but because of the nature of exchange relationships in the Coastal Lower Sector and the roles which these relationships play in the life cycle of the male of this Sector. The nature of claiming in the Coastal Lower Sector predisposes the male of the cooperative work group to initiate the use of alcohol, tobacco, and cannabis. This is because claiming occurs among nonkin; greater variability and great possibility of innovation exists in a situation involving individuals from differing backgrounds, differing experiences, and differing values. The possibility that a cannabis using individual could become a labor broker and a respected padre de familia in the community and thereby come to initiate others into the cooperative male work group on the estate exists only in this social sector.

Such a possibility does not exist in the Highland Lower Sector. Here the household head initiates all of his offspring and the claiming process inducts each person into the private world of family and farm. The only way in which cannabis smoking could ever be innovated in

the highlands is for several household heads to smoke cannabis and induct their offspring. But such an innovation at that late stage of the life cycle is unlikely. Therefore, cannabis has not been innovated by the highlanders, although they have ready access to tons of it.

It should be noted, finally, that the innovation of cannabis is probably not dependent upon the exegetic level of meaning, the meaning of cannabis use given by informants, to the participants. That is, cannabis smoking has as its source West Indian day laborers and in the West Indies cannabis smoking is perceived to increase one's energy for productive labor in horticulture and agriculture (Rubin and Comitas n.d., Comitas 1973, Schaeffer 1973). This same belief is current in the community studied and has as its source the West Indian day laborers who came to the community. But it is not the major or critical factor which explains the process by which cannabis came to be accepted among Colombian day laborers. If this were the case then cannabis would be used wherever productive energies are expended in horticultural and agricultural labor in the municipality. But in the highlands cannabis has not been accepted. This leads us to conclude that the exegetic meaning of cannabis use is not a critical factor in its acceptance. Rather, the acceptance of cannabis smoking is dependent upon its instrumental role in the claiming process, the exchange relationship, and labor recruitment. The expressive or symbolic role of cannabis smoking, that is, beliefs associated with its

use, is probably less important than the instrumental role of cannabis in the Coastal Lower Sector. This is not to say that the instrumental role is sufficient, but to say that it is a necessary factor. In contrast, the expressive role of cannabis cannot be said to be reason for its innovation or continued use.

Conclusions

The following generalizations are supported by the data:

(1) Cannabis cultivation, merchandising, and consumption are relatively recent innovations on the north coast of Colombia dating from the migration of West Indian day laborers to the Magdalena region to work for the United Fruit Company.

(2) Cultivators, distributors, and consumers of cannabis are integral members of the community in which they live and are not rejected from community life because of their association with cannabis.

(3) Cannabis commercial cultivators are well respected adult members of the community, although cash cropping of cannabis causes the initiation of patterns of interaction that are marginal to normal social interaction for members of the highland subculture.

(4) Distributors of commercially grown cannabis are well respected adult members of the community, although commercial dealing in cannabis causes the initiation of patterns of interaction that are marginal to normal social interaction for members of the coastal subculture.

(5) Long term cannabis users (those who have used for more than 10 years) are not observed to be indolent, parasitic, or marginal since cannabis users are productive laborers who have achieved the status of respected household head in the Coastal Labor Sector.

(6) Cannabis smoking is a function of reciprocal exchange relationships found among nonkin males engaged in cooperative wage labor on the estates of the municipality. Cannabis smoking is an instrumental activity related to the processes of labor recruitment, claiming or the achievement of adulthood, and the normal exchange relations which exist among members of the Coastal Lower Sector. Cannabis smoking also functions as an expressive behavior at the exegetic, operational, and positional symbolic levels.

(7) Alcohol and tobacco are the traditional drugs of choice for business negotiation, social prestation, and religious celebration in this community. Since a bottle of alcohol costs a full day's wage for a day laborer, cannabis smoking may be related to economic deprivation resulting from low wage levels.

(8) The facts that tobacco use for treatment of pain and for reduction of fatigue are traditional, and the fact that cannabis has been adopted and given these same exegetic meanings, suggest that cannabis use might have diffused through substitution for tobacco at some time in the past.

(9) Since cannabis smoking has not diffused to the Highland Lower Sector yet has diffused to the Coastal Lower

Sector it can be concluded that cannabis smoking is specific to certain relationships present in the latter but absent in the former. Cannabis smoking does not diffuse to social groupings which are not structurally predisposed to accept and value the profane ritual which surrounds it. The profane ritual involving the exchange of valued items among nonkin males of the cooperative work group on the estate constitutes such a predisposition.

Sanctions and Policy Governing Cannabis

Cannabis cultivation, sale, and use are all legally and socially sanctioned in Colombia. Decree 1699 of 1964, Article 23, dictates from two to five years of incarceration for the same offences involving any other kind of *estupificante* (this word means a drug that is not taxed and legally sold as are alcohol, barbiturates, amphetamines, tobacco, and caffeine (Torres Ortega 1965). In Orejones it is recognized that cannabis is totally prohibited by law. Yet such formal sanctions do not seem to prevent its cultivation, distribution, and consumption. Moreover, social tradition conceives the *marihuanero* or the person who smokes cannabis as a lazy, often criminal, vagabond. When I began interviewing cannabis using informants I was frequently warned to be careful with my personal property by Upper Sector friends. The cannabis users were said to steal one's possessions.

With regard to cultivation and commercial distribution

most Upper Sector townspeople, public officials, and law enforcement agents wink an eye and say that this activity brings United States dollars into Colombia. Cannabis cultivation and merchandising are placed in the same class of phenomena as contraband activity, in which most people of the Upper Sector play some role. Cannabis commercial cultivators, contrary to what might be expected, are drawn from the most well off and prosperous of the highland peasants. Some cultivators are youthful adults who are relatively recent migrants, but the majority are well advanced in age, have been established in this region for many years, and are highly respected household heads. The commercial distributors drawn from the Upper Sector are similarly well respected and mature professionals, government employees, and landowners. The behavior in which they engage is at once illegal and marginal to community life, yet neither the cultivators nor the distributors are considered deviants.

Consumption of cannabis is another matter. For smoking cannabis is thought of as a lower sector activity, which of course it is. Cannabis commercial distributors and cannabis commercial cultivators uniformly condemn the cannabis users.

All instances in which individuals were heard being called marihuaneros involved upper sector adults reprimanding their offspring or gossiping about other families. One quite influential young man of the upper sector was seen to be going out of his house to a party dressed in an under-

shirt and blue jeans. His older sister called after him, "You should put on some good clothes, you look like a marihuana smoker." The label marihuanero is a stigma applied to lower sector persons in general by the upper sector families, since many called marihuaneros are often found not to be consumers of the drug. And the true identities of long-term cannabis smokers are well known in the municipality by everyone from the mayor to the police.

Upper sector conceptions of cannabis and its effects are stereotypic. Cannabis is thought to produce madness (locura), drunkenness or intoxication (borrachera), and antisocial behavior such as theft, assault, and offensive public displays. Stories are told among the families of the upper sector, for the benefit of the younger members of these families, about individuals intoxicated by the drug who danced wildly in the streets of Santa Marta, were driven by the drug to steal, and who engaged in acts considered to be evidence of insanity. Yet members of this sector know who are the real cannabis consumers in their municipality. And these real consumers are never given as examples of madness, intoxication, or antisocial behavior. Rather, examples are drawn from distant towns that the upper sector families have visited. It is "out there" and not in their own town that the adverse effects of cannabis have been witnessed. When the observer asked why cannabis did not seem to produce such distasteful effects among their friends, neighbors, and clients in their own municipality the upper sector people were unable to give an explanation.

Negative traits assigned to cannabis users are assigned to lower sector individuals in general, and spectacular examples which justify the assignment of such traits are drawn from other towns and anonymous, hence unverifiable, cases that they have witnessed. Among members of the upper sector it is tacitly assumed that cannabis produces undesirable effects, even though in their own personal experiences with known cannabis consumers little evidence of such effects is provided. The observer lived and interviewed among residents of Orejones for 15 months and was unable to collect a single verifiable case involving antisocial behavior on the part of a cannabis consuming member of the community. Yet the upper sector is convinced that cannabis produces such antisocial behavior.

Such a gross contradiction between the evidence of the senses and the ideology of a people should surprise nobody. Institutionalized prejudice is a universal phenomenon which commonly demarcates group boundaries. In Oréjones it marks the boundary between the upper sector and the lower sectors. To be a marihuana consumer is to be a member of the working sector of the community, the sector which possesses nothing except the energy to engage in productive work. This work energy is exchanged for money which in turn enables the working individual to survive. It produces the food which the upper sector and lower sector of the community consume. It is ironic that those who do manual labor in the fields are viewed as lazy, often criminal, vagabonds.

The irony pales when it is recognized that Colombian government and law enforcement officials are increasingly called upon to suppress cannabis cultivation, distribution, and use. The Bogotá newspaper El Tiempo reported on Tuesday, July 17, 1973, page 6C that 50 peasants were arrested in Villaviciencio, department of Meta, after United States Central Intelligence Agency agents acting as American hippie buyers purchased some cannabis from them. The impact of the United States law enforcement agencies upon the lives of Colombians appears to be increasing, as evidenced by gifts of money to the Colombia police for the purpose of enforcing drug laws (see El Tiempo, June 13, 1973, page 1). Colombian law enforcement agents, particularly the secret police, are frequently trained in the United States for special undercover work in connection with cannabis. The local head of the secret police in the region studied is a graduate of the Special Warfare School of the United States Army and a graduate of a narcotics control training program run by the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs in Washington, D.C. He comes to Macondo after 12 years of experience in Mexico and Panama.

The Colombian Minister of Justice, Miguel Escobar Mendez, in cooperation with the Institute of Family Welfare and the Office of Human and Technical Resources, has recently proposed new legislation to deal with cannabis in Colombia. The law equates cannabis with heroin, morphine, cocaine, and other drugs which "produce physical or psychic dependence"

(Escobar Mendes 1973:3). The proposed legislation calls for from two to eight years of incarceration and a fine of 1,000 to 100,000 pesos for cultivation of cannabis. The proposed legislation calls for three years to 12 years of incarceration and a fine of 5,000 to 500,000 pesos for selling, transporting, possessing, or distributing the plant (Escobar Mendes 1972:2). Presumably the current penalties for use of cannabis will remain the same, yet in practice use is determined by possession of cannabis so that the penalty for cannabis use is considerably stiffer than previously and considerably more harsh than the penalty for cultivation.

The proposed legislation also calls for the creation of a national bureaucracy for implementation of these controls and elaboration of treatment programs and further studies of the phenomena of drug use. The funds made available for such a bureaucracy will undoubtedly be considerable given the fact of institutionalized prejudice directed at the manual laborer in Colombia.

The data reported here are the first that have been gathered in the country of Colombia through the use of empirical, long term, field investigation of a cannabis using population. Yet a national bureaucracy and increased negative sanctions are the responses of the government Ministry of Justice, Institute of Family Welfare, and the Office of Human and Technical Resources. One can only hope that the activities of these agencies are based upon empirical

research in the other spheres of human life with which they concern themselves.

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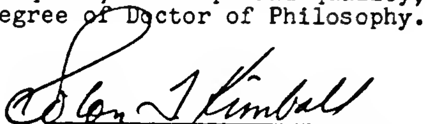
activity after work such as dancing and drinking reaffirmed and solidified existing bonds of interdependency among members of the cooperative work group. During the United Fruit Company period these cooperative work groups had come to be composed of unrelated males and the exchange of food and alcohol took place on weekends in the town. Thus, wage labor, temporary work crew membership, and the rescheduling of exchange of valued items completely changed the structure of the cooperative work group.

In Chapter III it was seen that the departure of the United Fruit Company during the mid-twentieth century brought economic and social reorganization to the community. One form of adjustment to these conditions was the reassertion of the culturally ancient cattle *hato*. But while this is a traditional form of productive activity, the Company had disturbed the forms of social organization through which it had functioned for several centuries. Specifically, the relationships among personnel had changed. The former patron-client relationship which had entailed housing, credit, and usufruct rights to a swidden garden plot was reasserted only between the landowner and his full-time employees. Workers on the *hato* came to be paid in cash for their contract labor and they ceased to be clients. The system of organization introduced by the United Fruit Company persisted at this level only, and the day laborer or *contractista* became a permanent feature of the community. At other levels the innovations introduced by the Boston based corporation

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

William L. Partridge was born in Miami, Florida, on December 1, 1944. He was graduated from North Miami Senior High School in 1962. He was awarded his Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Florida with Honors in anthropology in 1966. He was awarded his Master of Arts degree from the University of Florida in 1969 in anthropology. He minored in Philosophy at the graduate level. Mr. Partridge has worked at the University of Florida in the capacities of Student Assistant, Graduate Assistant, and Graduate Teaching Assistant in the Department of Anthropology, as Student Assistant at the Florida State Museum, and as Graduate Teaching Assistant and Instructor in the Social Sciences Department of University College. Mr. Partridge has held an NDEA Title IV Fellowship, was selected as a Fulbright-Hayes Predoctoral Fellow in 1972 (declined), and is currently a Predoctoral Fellow of the National Institute of Mental Health (1972 to 1974). Mr. Partridge has published four research papers in professional journals and one monograph which resulted from his research for the Master of Arts degree. Another research paper is currently in press. Mr. Partridge has read research papers at the annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association, the American Ethnological Society, the Society for Applied Anthropology, the Southern Anthropological Society, and the IXth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences.

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



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Graduate Research Professor of Anthropology

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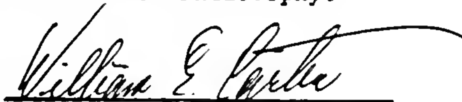

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This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of Anthropology in the College of Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate Council, and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Dean, Graduate School

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